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BY

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NOTE.

THIS Work has not had the advantage of a revision by its Author whilst passing through the press. Mr. Keene is at his post in India. It has not, therefore, been possible to consult his wishes in the matter of transliteration, nor could they be always gathered from the MS., which in parts had been transcribed by an amanuensis. In fairly familiar words, where no doubt as to pronunciation could arise, popular spelling has been adopted, and diacritical points have been omitted.

Mr. KEENE has wished the following intimation to be made:—

"*It is not necessary to give a list of all the authorities that have been consulted in this Work. Besides original records and books in the Persian, French, English, and Spanish languages, continuous and invaluable aid has been derived from the 'History of India,' by Elliot and Dowson. This Work, in eight volumes, contains copious translated extracts from all the best historians of Mohamadan India, many of which are now accessible for the first time. It may, indeed, be truly said that its completion puts the subject upon an entirely new basis, and forms the best justification for the publication of the present chapters. The constant sympathy and aid of the late Principal Blochmann, M.A., of the Calcutta Madrisa, demand warm acknowledgment. His death has caused a blank in the ranks of Oriental scholarship that will not soon be filled.*"

Dedicated

TO

SIDNEY OWEN, M.A.

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS

VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS

TO OUR KNOWLEDGE

OF

INDIAN HISTORY

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THE object of the following pages is to show, in a series of monographs, the character, epochs, and incidents in the history of the Empire established in Hindustan by the Chughtai Tartars. These chapters cover the time from the invasion of Bábar to the death of Alamgir II., and the campaign of 1760-1. An attempt has been made to show the state of the country under Mughal rule, and the reasons why, with many good qualities, the House of Taimur ultimately failed to form a durable dominion. The first article is devoted to a summary of the subject of the whole study. The second gives a brief account of the origin of the family, and the first foundation of their power south of the Himála Alps. The third displays the consolidation; the fourth and fifth exhibit the equilibrium; the sixth describes the beginnings of weakness. In the seventh and eighth are shown the hastening decomposition of the unwieldy and ill-governed Empire; while the account of the Campaign of Pánipat furnishes matter for the ninth and last. The whole will replace

the first Book of the "Fall of the Mughal Empire" by the same author, and the rest of that work will serve to complete a popular statement of the History of Hindustan for the three centuries next preceding British rule.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

THE accompanying map is an attempt to show, approximately, the state of the Chughtai possessions in Hindustan and the Deccan, when that Empire was in its firmest and most compact condition, say, towards the end of the first half of the seventeenth century, when the principal European travellers (who form our best authorities) were in the country. Candahar was lost, all claims to Balkh and Bokhara were practically abandoned; but Aurangabad, Bijapur, Bidar, and Haidrabad were being rendered tributary towards the latter part, while still nominally under other rulers, and the usurpations of the Mahrattas had not yet begun to trouble the Western Deccan.

Originally the Empire, as described by Abul Fuzl in the 40th year of Akbar, consisted of twelve *subahs*, besides later-acquired territory, which had not, at that time, been completely organised with the Imperial Cosmos. In later times, the number of these provinces averaged twenty; for, though there are as many as twenty-seven named in some lists, yet they are either

produced by splitting lesser provinces, or such as were never held all at one period. The land revenue of the twelve *subahs* is stated by Abul Fuzl to have aggregated over nine *krors* of rupees, a sum which, in his detailed lists, with the addition of land and sea-customs and income derived from the inorganized provinces of Sindh and Kashmir, he brings to nearly one *kror* more, or say, Rs. 99,613,850. A large but unascertained contribution must also be allowed in the services of the *Bumi* (or "landwehr")—a large irregular militia of horse, foot, and artillery, assessed on the various districts independent of the levies maintained by the *Mansabdars* and the standing army of the Crown.

It would be indecorous to omit the mention of Mr. E. Thomas, F.R.S. in this connection. That distinguished scholar and numismatist has, on various occasions (see his "Prinsep," vol. ii., his "Chronicles," and "Revenue Resources"), made efforts to bring the figures of the "Ain" into harmony with estimates elsewhere derived. Finding, for example, that an accountant of Akbar's estimated the total revenue at 640,000,000 tankas, Mr. Thomas concludes that this equals £32,000,000 sterling, and hence concludes that Abul Fuzl has meant to state double the figures that he has stated, and that this must be doubled again, by the addition of what in modern Anglo-Indian parlance is called "Separate Revenue." Four times ten however would not yield thirty-two, but

forty—even if the exchange value of ten rupees to one pound English could be proved to have obtained in Akbar's time, of which there is no proof. Moreover, the proposed emendation of the text (from "three" to "six" *arbs* of *dáms*) does violence to all known versions of the "Ain Akbari," and to the context itself. The following is a strict translation of the important words taken from Professor Blochmann's Calcutta-text, iii., p. 386:—"In the 40th year of his reign, the Emperor Akbar had a decennial settlement of his dominions, at the annual revenue of three arbs, sixty-two krors, ninety-seven lakhs, fifty-five thousand one hundred and forty-six dáms, or rupees 90,749,881. 2. 5."

This tallies with other texts including the Lucknow lithograph of Munshi Nawal Kishor, which is highly esteemed by native scholars.

Four other provinces are mentioned by Abul Fuzl; namely, those of Multan and Tattah, forming the modern commissionership of Sindh, and part of the Punjab; and Kashmir with Cabul, a mountainous region, assessed chiefly in kind, and chiefly valued for purposes of sport and luxury.

The following specification of each province is abstracted from the same work compared with later lists. I have not thought it necessary to add the figures from the separate *Taksim Jamas* or detailed rent-rolls, which, though not prepared apparently quite

at the same moment as the descriptive parts, do not exceed the estimates there given very seriously, seeing that they contain some further items of separate revenue. Each province was in area about equal to an average European kingdom of those days. Of these provinces the most eastern was BENGAL, forming with ORISSA, a vast and fertile tract assessed at about one and-a-half krors of rupees. The capital was at Gaur or Lakhnauti. BAHAR (often united with Bengal under the general title of "the Eastern *Subas*") was the very finest part of the Gangetic valley, both in climate and natural advantages. It had, both on the north and south, fine mountain ranges for limits; abundant streams watered the soil. The name of the capital is not given in the "Ain"; it was probably at Patna. The land revenue was over forty-three lakhs.

ALLAHABAD and AUDH, or OUDH, often held by the same Subahdár, resembled Bahar in size, character, and conformation. The capital of the one was at Prayág, and derived from Akbar the name it communicated to the entire district. The capital of the other, Audh or Ajudhia, was near the site of the modern Faizábad. The aggregate land revenue was about a kror and-a-third.

AGRA (formerly Biána) was a compact division, extending from Kalpi to Rewári, and from Aligarh to the southern boundary of Narwar. The chief city was called Agra, and the citadel Akbarábád, after its founder. Besides the metropolis, it contained Gwáliar,

and other walled towns, cities, and fortresses; the land revenue was over a quarter of a million.

MÁLWA, a large province formed out of a conquered kingdom, stretched from the borders of Allahabad to those of Gujarát, and was famous for its woods; waters, wild flowers, and fine scenery. The climate was much esteemed, and its fertility proverbial. Mándu was regarded as the capital; the land revenue exceeded sixty lakhs of rupees.

KHÁNDES (named Dándes by Akbar, in honour of his son Dányál) was a small but pleasant province between the Nerbudda and Tapti rivers, intersected by the Satpura hills, and having for capital the ancient fortified city of Burhánpur, so often mentioned in the history of mediæval India. The land revenue was about seven lakhs and-a-half. The local governor in troubled times occupied the neighbouring fort of Asergarh, regarded as one of the strongest places in the empire.

GUJARÁT, another old Mussulman kingdom, was of great extent, and yielded a revenue—inclusive of customs—which exceeded a kror of rupees. This province was largely washed by the sea; and, besides the native capital, Ahmadábád, contained Baroda and other large towns. The Portuguese had a settlement at Surat, and made encroachments, towards the end of Akbar's reign, over the neighbouring districts.

The so-called *Subah* of AJMIR was one of the largest

provinces, answering nearly to the modern Rajputána. It was divided into three principal chiefships: Mewar, Marwar, and Harauti, corresponding to the modern Rajadoms of Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Kota Bundi. Other principalities, such as Dundar (Jaipur), were not apparently thought of much importance by Abul Fuzl, as they are not named in his list. The country was fine, the climate healthy, and the population hardy; but the revenue was nothing more than a tribute estimated by Abul Fuzl at 571,000 rupees, and paid (when payment could be compelled) by the Hindu chiefs, who had been there before the Mughals came, and who very likely will be there after the British are gone. The emperors were fond of the town of Ajmir, where a famous stock of Persian darvishes, or hermits (the Chistie), had taken root. They also intermarried with the houses of Jaipur and Jodhpur; but the province can only be reckoned nominally among Subahs.

Delhi was a province of average size, with a capital of the same name, and a revenue of one and-a-half krors from land.

Lahore was a rather larger one, with a capital of the same name, and a revenue of nearly the same amount as Delhi.

Multán was a long strip of sandy country lying along the left bank of the Indus. Capital, Multán; revenue, nearly forty lakhs.

TATTAH was the rest of the Indus valley; the revenue only about one lakh and sixty thousand rupees.

KÁSHMIR, "the happy valley," and the scarcely less beautiful hills and dales of CABUL, were the Piedmont of the Asian Italy, valued for their climate, sport, and scenery. The revenue, given by Abul Fuzl, is estimated in sheep and rice, with the exception of that of Cabul Sircar, which is stated at twenty lakhs. Thomas estimates the total yield at no less than eighty lakhs. The aggregate of these items amounts to a little below ten krors; but they include some Sáyar items, though how much cannot be determined. In one or two instances in which these are stated separately, they are from two to four per cent.

Such was the territorial constitution of the Chughtai territory from the period of Akbar's consolidation (about the fortieth year of his reign) down substantially to the commencement of the conquests of Aurungzeb. The authorities to whose descriptions I am indebted for the means of comparing the facts of this period, of about half-a-century of equilibrium, differ enough to show that they were not absolutely accurate; but the *Bádshahnáma* and Bernier agree (writing about the end of the reign)* that there were twenty provinces at the termination of the period,

* The *Bádshahnáma*, adds Balkh and Badakshán, but the sway over them was scarcely even nominal.

and that the revenues were about twenty-two krors of rupees.

In the palmier days of Aurungzeb, the number of provinces were about the same. The revenue for 1666 (according to Thevenot) was 375,750,000 French livres; according to Manucci, whom Mr. Thomas pronounces "a competent witness at head-quarters," 317,935,050 rupees, an aggregate tallying with the totals of other lists. Of these the mean is about thirty-five krors, while his total, as we see, is nearly thirty-two; and there can be little doubt that this is near the correct figure. It is not, however, so clear what it represents in the modern figures. It is true that the rupee of those days contained about the same quantity of silver as does that of our own days; but we have the positive testimony of Manucci that the exchange value of the rupee in the European currency of his day was "*trente sols*," or fifteen pence. In this he is confirmed by Tavernier, who says that fourteen rupees were worth twenty-one *livres tournois*. Manucci's total, therefore, would be scarcely worth twenty millions sterling.

It is a farther question, whether the separate revenue was equal in amount, or nearly so? The answer seems to be that the separate revenue was derived from sources too vague and fluctuating to be so estimated. It chiefly came from escheats and fines —to speak according to European usage—and the

amount must have depended upon the character of the sovereign, the longevity of incumbents, and similar things, to an extent which would make it impossible to make an approximation for any one year.

Lastly, it is to be noted that, besides the provinces named above, the empire had, for a few years of Aurungzeb's reign, a claim—more or less practically exercised—to parts of the Bálághát, and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. But these were never made into regularly organised Subahs, nor did they appear upon the rolls, and they soon became totally independent.

The following is Manucci's list of the provinces at the beginning of the reign of Aurungzeb—the numbering being brought into correspondence with that of the annexed map:—

1.—Bengal, without Orissa, was assessed at over four *krors* (which is three times more than in the other lists).		
2.—Bahar	Rs.	1,21,50,000
3.—Orissa (called by Manucci "Urcha") .		57,07,500
4.—Oudh (called "Rajmahal" apparently) .		1,00,50,000
5.—Delhi		1,25,50,000
6.—Agra		2,22,03,550
7.—Allahabad		77,38,000
8.—Lahore		2,32,05,000
9.—Cabul		32,07,250
10.—Ajmír (Rajputána, temporarily subjugated and heavily assessed) . .		19,00,000
11.—Multán		50,25,000
12.—Málwa		99,06,250

13.—Gujarát (probably including Customs)	Rs. 2,32,95,000
14.—Khándes	1,11,05,000
15.—Berar	1,58,07,500
16.—Gondwana (no assessment given in any list but of Aurungzeb's reign).	
*17.—Aurungábad, or a part thereof, (called "Baglana" from Bághelána a hilly tract in the heart of the Mahratta country). Tallies with estimates of Tavernier and Bernier. . . .	68,85,000
All Aurungábád or Daulatábád rated much higher in native lists.	*
18.—Bijapur	5,00,00,000
19.—Haidarábád (not named by Manucci, probably included in "Golconda")	5,00,00,000
20.—Bidar (*i. e.* "Nanda" aggregate in other lists running from 93 lakhs to over two *krors*)	72,00,000
Total . . Rs.	31,79,35,050

It will be seen that there are discrepancies, both as to names and rating, between Manucci's list and those derived from native sources. But such, just a century after the completion of Abul Fuzl's record, were the collections according to a European residing at the Imperial Court in a position of trust. He does not name the Subahs always as they are named in other lists that have come down to us; and he gives some names (such as "Bakar" and "Ujain") that are not found elsewhere.

For some further details as to Revenue, see Note to Chapter I. and Appendix A.

N. B.—This list is extracted from a paper of mine read by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and printed in their Journal.

* These four represent the chief substantial acquisitions of Aurungzeb.

THE TURKS IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

It has been customary among historians to draw a broad ethnological line between three classes of peoples in the western parts of Central Asia—Tájiks, Turks, and Mongols. The first are, admittedly, pure Aryans—handsome, of settled habits, and speaking an Indo-Germanic language; while the last are mere nomad Tartars—an absolute contrast to the Tájiks. But when it is asserted that there was originally a third race, equally hostile to the Tájiks, yet differing in every respect from the Tartars, speaking, indeed, a form of the agglutinative speech, but from the first handsome and disposed to civilisation, the evidence is not so strong. The more the matter is looked into the more likely will it appear that the distinction between Turk and Mongol is not altogether a natural distinction, but one proceeding from comparatively recent and artificial causes—causes arising out of a fusion, more or less complete, of Tájik and Tartar. It may be going too far to conclude that a Mongol is merely a Turk in embryo—a Turk little more than

a civilised and circumcised Mongol or Tartar; but Mongol in Turkish mouths becomes "Moghól";* the Persians, softening still further, turn it into "Mughul," or "Mughal;" and thus the words "Mughal Empire"—an evident misnomer—may have come to be applied to the government of India by Tartar conquerors, who had adopted Aryan manners and a Semitic creed (assimilating themselves in both respects to their Osmanli kindred in Eastern Europe), and who had kept little or nothing of the old, wild Mughal, or Mongol, either in features or character.

The seclusion of women was part of the institutions (rather Semitic than Aryan, however), which the Tartars had assumed before conquering India and Constantinople, and this, being grafted upon the old exogamy of the race, completed the change from Tartar to Turk, and laid the corner-stone of a perennial weakness, as well in India as in what is now "Turkey in Europe."

Customs are more than blood, or even climate. The antagonism between Darius and Miltiades is still active. It is not merely a matter of longitude, for Muscovy is, for the most part, east of Mecca, and Morocco lies to the west of Madrid. It is not territorial, for some of the so-called "Europeans" live in Asia and America; some of the so-called "Asiatics" live in Africa and Europe. It is not ethnological, for some of the best races on either side spring from the same stocks. The Tájik Persians are of kin to the Prussians. The Magyárs are Tartars by origin. When chased through all these disguises the Proteus is there

* See Taimur's "Memoirs," quoted below.

still, as real as ever, though as difficult of identification. Perhaps it may best be described by saying that there is a gulf fixed between races coming from mothers versed in business, and races springing from secluded and undeveloped females. It is possible that this may be a difference existing even between Turks and Mughals, and one in which the advantage would be on the side of the savages.

Certain it is that the founders of what is called the "Mughal Empire" were in a peculiar manner subject to this depressing influence. It may be granted that they were descended from the free barbarian nomads of the steppes, the habitual raiders and slave-hunters, even in our own days still wandering and robbing, who in the days of Changez (or Jenghez) Khán exercised a sway of devastation over a tract of country extending from the banks of the Vistula to the shores of the Japanese archipelago. But their wives were no longer found among conterminous tribes of kindred habits. With a Turanian origin they had, in the third generation from Changez Khán, began to follow the faith of Islám, and to take as wives or concubines girls entirely or mainly of Aryan blood, often captured in predatory excursions.

By such a series of connections these Turks, like their modern congeners in the Byzantine Empire, would ultimately lose their Mongolian features (if ever they had them), and acquire the physical character of their Aryan neighbours from the western slopes of Pamir to the eastern shores of the Caspian, that tract which probably formed the cradle of what, for want of a better name, is often called the "Cauca-

sian" branch of the human race. But the change, if for the better physically, cannot be shown to have improved the national character in all other directions. In certain respects, indeed, the Turks were far from being the superiors of those ruder neighbours whom they may have once resembled.

All *zanána* life must be bad for men at all stages of their existence. In infancy and in boyhood it must be injurious to be tended with the unreasoning ignorance and weak indulgence of a mother knowing nothing, and consulting with female dependants weaker and more untruthful than herself. In youth it must be ruin to be petted and spoiled by a company of submissive slave girls. In manhood it is a no less evil that when a man retires into private life his affections should be put up to auction among foolish, foul competitors, full of mutual jealousies and slanders.

We are not left entirely to conjecture as to the effect of female influence on home life when it is exerted under these unenlightened and demoralising conditions. That is, plainly, an element lying at the root of all the most important features that differentiate progress from stagnation; or, in the customary, if not quite accurate phrase, West from East. Woman has done mischief, we must sadly acknowledge, under all forms of society; but here is a poison working at the very sources of human character and conduct. And, if this defect be inseparable from the state of all communities where unrestrained polygamy prevails, how much must it be enhanced whenever it happens that the inhabitants of the harem are not only women who know little or nothing of the world, but also who come from tribes or nations habitually contemned,

conquered, and made captive. Such cannot be the mothers of true heroes.

All really great and good men have been ever ready to acknowledge the obligations that they have owed to their mothers. A wise and cultured mother makes her son participator in all the best qualities of her nature by the twofold channel of blood and breeding. Born with the love of truth and freedom interwoven in his tissues, he shows them daily developing under her forming hand.

But the sons of such mothers as Turks have often had, must necessarily have lacked both these kinds of advantage. Among the peasantry, where a man can afford only one wife, and where she has to join his outdoor employments, the birth and training of the young will proceed much as elsewhere; but among the families of the rich, the sons of secluded slave mothers must needs be deficient in those attributes that are feminine in the best sense. Equally necessary is it that they should exhibit those qualities of woman's unchastened nature which form her foible and discredit. And this, accordingly, is what we find. While the son of the well-born Russian or Hungarian (though with much Turanian blood) gains as much from one parent as from the other, and is in all points as deserving of respect as the purest Aryan,—the Turk, and the Circassian (though the latter be pure Aryan on both sides), mostly show nothing of their mothers but faults, and never become quite civilised. When they are brave, it is from fatalism inspired by impulse. Their ability shows itself in cabals, lies, and ruthless intrigue; their taste inclines to extravagance and ostentation. They love bodily pleasures, are facile,

indolent, living *au jour le jour*. The traits in which they are wanting are mainly those in which the ladies of Christendom usually excel—perseverance, method; the power of resisting or shaping events, and of constructing and carrying out the efficient administration of details. Where the sons of free and instructed women make and maintain calm, far-seeing, beneficent arrangements, those of the Turk are for the most part thoughtless, procrastinative, and without system.

The early Tartars were not exactly like this. They wandered over the steppes and mountains; small, yellow, flat-faced, filthy; gabbling in monosyllables, following a bold chief, like packs of wolves bent on raven. Their dominion in Asia was the result of a persistent action of want-spurring energy. That was the vulgar impulse that has always hurled the human deluge upon fat plains and crowded cities. It is the movement of misery seeking for comfort; of hunger yearning to be fed.

From the time of the terrible Changez (who died 1227 A.D.), to that of Tamerlane* (died 1405), for nearly two centuries the "terrors of the Mughal helmet" were never forgotten, either in the valley of the Oxus or in mediæval Hindustan. One incursion followed another, each marked by reckless slaughter, till the less barbarous sank in the weariness of the unending conflict.

In 1289 A.D., the Delhi poet, Khusru, who was for

* Mr. Erskine admits that Taimur was "of the present Mongol origin," even if his pedigree, as given in the "Turzak," be not absolutely authentic (I. 69). "His tribe had become Turk in language and manners from long residence among Turks."

some time in captivity with "the Mughals" thus describes their manners and appearance:—

"There were more than a thousand Tátárs riding on camels, great commanders in war, all with steel-like bodies clothed in cotton, faces like fire, with caps of sheepskin on shaven heads. Their eyes were so sharp, they might have bored a hole in a brass pot; their smell was more horrible than their colour; their faces were set on their bodies as if they had no necks; their cheeks were like empty leathern bottles, full of knots and wrinkles; their noses extended from cheek to cheek; their mouths from ear to ear; their moustaches were of extravagant length, they had but scanty beards about their chins; their chests were covered with vermin, and their skin rough like shagreen leather. They ate dogs and pigs." (Dowson's "Elliot," vol. ii., Appendix.)

These "Turks of Kai," as the poor poet calls them (*Kai* meaning both "nausea" and the name of a Turkish tribe), were called "Mughals" in India. But they were not the people known in other parts of Asia as Mongols, but were a derivative horde from whom descended the Osmanlis, since settled in Eastern Europe. The confusion seems to have arisen in this way: Mongol being the best known of the barbarians, and the western Tátár (or Tartar) tribes having originally come from Mongolia, each new wave was "Mongol" (= barbarian) to the people afflicted by it, while the members of each in turn settling where they had conquered, and often building or occupying walled towns, intermarried with Caucasians, and acquired some of the characteristic vices of their mothers. Aiming, however, at what they observed of the attributes of civilisation, they dropped the appellation "Mongol" and applied it in a softened form as "Mughal" to the horde next to their own borders. And thus it would happen that after the grandsons of

the filthy savages described by Khusru had become the comparatively civilised followers of Taimur or Timor, they would still be "Mughals" for the yet softer peoples of India, though themselves dreading and execrating the name. After Taimur's incursion, the old Mussulman Empire of Delhi, itself thrown up two centuries previously by an earlier northern wave, never recovered from the shock. The Lodi dynasty (a brief Pathan race) took up the crumbling fragments in the fifteenth century. The Turkish Empire in Central Asia broke up during the same period. Ever since the Turks had been expelled from China in the second century after Christ, they had been gradually but slowly drifting westward; the Seljukian branch went the farthest; the Kais followed them, and founded the Osmanli Empire in Asia Minor. The Chaghatai or Chughtai section, first under the son of Changez, so named, and afterwards under Taimur, held sway in Persia and Bokhára for about two hundred years, till having become Aryanised and softened, it was in its turn overthrown. In Persia the Tájiks recovered the sway of their own land; the Uzbeks, a separate Tartar tribe, perhaps of mixed origin, occupied Bokhára and drove the Turks forth to seek fresh fortunes.

In the following pages, therefore, the word "Turk" must be understood as meaning a Mussalman Tartar who has become partly Aryanised in features and habits, but has still clung to some survival of exogamous tendencies in marriage, from which, indeed, Aryanisation would not necessarily wean them.

In the introduction to Mr. Erskine's "History of India" will be found a *resumé* of almost all that is to be learned from Oriental or European sources as to

the history of the Chughtais. For the purpose of the present study, it will be sufficient to quote with entire acquiescence the following sentences:—

"The Turks have in different ages extended their influence into the more cultivated regions of the east, sometimes acting in bands by direct force, sometimes individually, unaided except by the inherent powers of their minds. Several of their smaller tribes which found their way to the south were at an early period entertained in the service of the Arabian Khalifs of Bagdad; and many private adventurers sought wealth and distinction by taking service in the armies of different Asiatic princes. Numbers of the hardy race were even purchased as slaves by those monarchs and embodied as their life-guards, or educated in their palaces as trusty and confidential servants. Those in course of time rose to be their chief ministers, the generals of their armies and governors of their provinces; and in the decline of the Khalifate, the principal revolutions effected in the empire, whether in the palace or the field, were conducted by them.* In a similar manner the kingdom of Gazni came into the possession of Sabaktegin, a Turkish slave, whose son, Sultan Mahmud, not only extended his empire to the Oxus and the Caspian, but carried his victorious arms many times into the centre of India.

"Few races of men at any period of the world have acted a more distinguished part than the Turks, who, in one form or another, for centuries ruled a great part of the old world; and who, even at the present day, influence directly or indirectly the government, manners, and civilisation of mankind from the Straits of Gibraltar to the deserts on the Yenesei, and from the limits of Hungary and Poland to the farthest bounds of the empire of Hindustan.

"In India, the Turks never affected to monopolise all the authority of the kingdoms which they obtained. The natives shared in the administration of the country and in military commands. They found a country already populous, and its territories fully occupied by civilised inhabitants, as well as by a race of conquerors of their own religion. They had none of the exterminating ferocity of Chengez, and were not so insane as to have a wish to expel the cultivators from lands, the value of which was solely owing to their labour."

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* That is to say, by the Mamelukes.

To this it is only necessary to add that the system succeeded so long as the natives of India were not disturbed in their occupations or religious beliefs and practices. But the great weakness of the energetic Turkish character, its incapacity for patient construction and persevering attention to detailed business, made itself peculiarly plain whenever they were tempted to alienate the indigenous workers and to undertake to do for themselves the executive work. The decay of their architecture is a fair type of the decline of their political administration. So long as they confined themselves to making known their wants and providing money to meet the estimates, there was no want of skilful artificers to build mosques, mansions, and mortuary monuments, such as have never been surpassed. But, when they cashiered the indigenous workmen and took in hand to build for themselves, they produced works which are only remarked for their vulgarity, and which are absolutely contemporaneous with the fall of their authority. (*See* Fergusson, "Indian Architecture," page 602).

The following pages are offered as a further illustration of the character of Turkish rule, especially as shown in the empire founded in Hindustan by the Chughtai Turks under Bábar and his descendants. It is admitted that the house of Taimur and their followers were chiefly Mughal by descent; but it is important to bear in mind that the characteristics of their system were not bloodshed and paganism (as with the early Mughals), but a high degree of Moslem civilisation, combined (as among the modern Osmanlis) with elements of great sloth and inatten-

tion to business in regard to conquests won by the display of equally great temporary energy. The Mughals had become Turks.

It is this curious combination of refined manners, brave promise and *fainéant* fulfilment, that has been the infirmity of Turks everywhere, and it is for this reason that the "Mughal Empire" of Hindustan is here spoken of as the sway of the Turks in India rather than by the name under which it has been usually known.

There had been earlier appearances of Turks in that country, but it cannot be said that Turkish administration had been introduced, except in some obscure States in the south. First was Mahmud, the son of Sabaktigin, who made many predatory incursions from his kingdom of Ghazni, but returned there at last to die. He is well known in Eastern literature as the niggard patron of the Persian poet, Fardusi. The son of a Mameluke, he continued the practice of promoting distinguished Turkish slaves. These men and their descendants, with the mingled energy and facility of their race, always ended by amalgamating with the races over whom they obtained power.

Mahmud died in 1030 A.D. At the end of about one hundred and fifty years the dynasty that he had founded gave way to an Afghan one, the House of Ghor; but the same system began again. Shahábud-Din Ghori, the actual founder of the Moslem rule in Hindustan, left his conquests there to be ruled by a favourite Turkish slave, Kutb-ud-Din Aibak—he from whom the famous tower,* known as the Kutb

* The building went on during the greater part of the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.

Minár of Delhi, is named; and Kutb-ud-Din was succeeded by another Turkish slave, Altamsh, of whom several works remain in the neighbourhood of the Kutb Minár, and also at Ajmere. The next remarkable Turks in India are "The Forty;" one of whom, Balban, reigned from 1265 to 1286. Then came Pathan rulers of the tribe of Khilji, the Turkish element being for the time quite worn out. The great Gházi Malik, the founder of Tughlakabad, however, revived the Turkish power. He was the son of another slave; and the House of Tughlak, founded by him, endured from 1320 to the end of the fourteenth century. One of them, Mohamad-ibn-Tughlak, was one of the most cruel tyrants that history has recorded, and was known as *Khúni Sultan*, or "Bloody Lord." Another, Firoz Sháh, was a man of mildness, rectitude, and great accomplishments, among which was a warm and judicious love of architecture. The empire, assailed by fresh incursions of Northern Turks, and curtailed by the encroachment of new kingdoms on the south, fell into the hands of feeble indigenous Mussulmans until the great invasion of Taimur, a *soi-disant*, and perhaps real, descendant of Changhez Khán, who, however, only nominally ruled India, and whose departure was followed by the administration—over the dwindled remains of the empire—of other native Moslems, who went on blundering and quarrelling until the arrival of Bábar.

From this date (1526 A.D.) we find the Turkish power paramount in Hindustan and the adjacent lands from Cabul to the Carnatic, and from the boundaries of Berar to the banks of the Brahmaputra river. We shall observe hereafter the foundation, consolidation,

and equilibrium of the Chughtai power, unusually fortunate so long as the natives were largely employed and their systems adopted as models; while manly adventurers from the hardy North continued to infuse their energy into an administration which they had not sufficient intelligence or ability to affect organically either for good or evil. We shall see something of the splendours of a court and camp far too sumptuous for the state of the rest of the community, yet maintained without material hardship, and therefore a source of pride to the people; and something also of a people fairly prosperous, though rather in agriculture than in commerce, and sometimes disturbed by local wars here and there, yet on the whole as happy as they have ever been or are likely soon to be. We shall then come to a time when ambition and fanaticism, going hand in hand, had alienated the natives, and left business in the sole hands of incompetent and debauched members of the governing classes. And a glimpse will be afforded of the coming cataclysm that was to prepare the way for a new power, whose destinies are still uncertain, and which may yet profit by studying the story of its predecessors.

In the course of this study we shall find a state of society not very easy to classify according to modern notions. It was not savage, certainly, yet it does not present the features which we are accustomed to associate with the idea of civilisation. The king, or emperor, was not the member of the reigning family who succeeded by divine right, but the one who succeeded after conquering—and usually slaughtering—others at the end of the previous reign. The

nobility was not a hereditary body with fixed constitutional privileges, resembling the strong aristocracies who limited the arbitrary action of the sovereign in mediæval Europe; it more resembled the Paladins of Charlemagne, or the major-generals of Cromwell. This absence of a strict law of succession had doubtless its advantages, making both crown and coronet the prize of valour and ability rather than the result of mere chance. But these advantages were a great deal neutralized by the want of any honourable occupation but a career of arms, joined to the poverty and ignorance of the people at large. It may be safely said that, after Akbar, no prince of the house of Taimur ever ascended the throne who was not the ablest of the competitors for the succession at the time. And although many of them, after attaining their object, yielded to the temptations of their position and became more or less negligent of business, their ministers were usually men who rose, in their turn, by merit. But there was still ever lacking any organised opposition, either constitutional or other, to maintain these ministers in a course of honesty and virtue. The people might, here and there, raise tumults, but they were usually of the nature of rebellious movements in the interest of some designing official who led them for personal and ignoble objects. With the exception of the various Hindu revolts, under which the empire ultimately crumbled, no popular rising on a large scale was provoked by any amount of tyranny or mal-administration.

This weakness of the community was due to a combination of causes. The climate indisposed men to exertion; the system of caste—while it so

favoured temporary intertribal combinations—led, in the end, to chronic distrust, rivalry, and discord. The unlimited exactions of the officials led—except under very exceptional rulers—to slovenly agriculture; the sequestration and locking-up of capital in the palace and the treasury of the emperor, and in the buried hoards of his wealthier subjects, paralysed commercial enterprise.

The Emperor Bábar, accustomed to the very moderate civilisation of Central Asia, found his newly-acquired country almost intolerable. Admitting the abundance of resources and the many good gifts of nature which Hindustan possessed, he disliked the life almost as much as the most fastidious English exile of the present day.

"The people," he said, "have no idea of the charms of friendly society . . . or of familiar intercourse. They have neither genius, intelligence, politeness, kindness, ingenuity, invention, skill, or knowledge of the arts. You cannot even get a decent light at night. The greatest man, if he wants to see by night, has to call in a filthy fellow with a torch, who stands close to his employer all the time that he is using the light. The peasants and lower classes go about nearly naked. They tie on a thing that they call a 'loin-cloth,' and the ends of this knotted clout are all that they have to cover them."

He noticed with approval the prodigious numbers of artisans exercising crafts, handed down from father to son, but he commented bitterly on the almost total absence of works of irrigation.

The varying details of the administrative system will be found mentioned in the following chapters. Its general characteristics were a mixture of insolence and inebriety, arising from the peculiar temperament of Turks, wherever they are dominant. Under Akbar—and to a less degree under his son and grand-

son also—these evils were much mitigated by the extensive employment of the native raçes, both Hindu and Mussulman, in the control as well as the details of the administrations. In these earlier reigns, at least, the taxation of the people was not heavy, and the method of collection was simple, and not more oppressive than is usual in eastern countries. In times of calamity, suspensions, and even remissions of the demand, were allowed, and moneys were sometimes advanced to necessitous agriculturists. But there was, it is much to be feared, a very faint appreciation of the claims of individuals, either on grounds of equity or of utility; and hence there must have been, among the people in general, none of that "magic of private property which turns sand into gold." The unlimited potentiality of the few not only withheld the stimulus to exertion so peculiarly needful in a country whose natural fertility is only checked by occasional vicissitudes of season, but it restrained the formation of reserve funds, and the investment of money in profitable undertakings. Wealth was either ostentatiously scattered or lost in secret hoards; and those secondary wants were undeveloped or restrained which are at once the spring of industry among free populations, and the cause of their material comfort and general well-being.

Gradually, as the bonds of centralisation became relaxed, while local institutions were not ready to take their place, anarchy, confusion, disorder, rapine, and bloodshed became more and more prevalent. It is probable that no community was ever in a more miserable condition than that of Hindustan when the British power was first introduced.

How many of the coils under which the people then suffered have been removed or mitigated by Western conquest is to be seen by reference to modern statistics. But misery still hovers over them like the first vulture over the scene of a coming battle. *Absit omen!*

NOTE.—The Mughal fiscal system and its results have been treated with much research by Mr. E. Thomas,* who has shown an agreement of contemporary authority to prove that the Chaghtai Emperors took a great deal more from their territories than has been taken by the British. At the same time, they returned, it must be remembered, far less in the shape either of administration or of public works, while the state of the sea-commerce gave but little scope for the introduction of the precious metals†. Thus, money was more scarce and dear; yet, the amount raised (from a smaller number of tax-payers) was higher in mere figures. Lastly, the sum—averaging ten millions a year—that the British receive from sea-customs and opium are a nett relief to the ordinary native subject not enjoyed by his precursor.

Mr. Thomas draws his conclusions from the best sources. His tables refer, for the earlier reigns, to the northern parts alone, while the figures for Aurangzeb cover the Deccan also. His conclusion is as follows:—The land revenue, then as now, formed about one half of the total receipts. Akbar got about seventeen millions sterling by this item, assessing it on the northern provinces, including the sterile and precariously held lands of Cabul. This Asiatic Piedmont, peopled by a sparse, but hardy race of mountaineers, was less and less profitable; to Akbar it yielded a revenue of about eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, which gradually dwindled down to two hundred and forty, and was then lost altogether. Leaving this unprofitable region out of calculation, the provinces of the Punjab, Hindustan, Gujarat, and the eastern Subahs, paid an aggregate of thirty-two millions from all sources after Akbar had remitted a long list of taxes. The same countries may yield, nominally, nearly as much now. Jahángir made some enhancements, so that Hawkins (who lived a long time at the Court of Agra) makes the total revenue amount to no less than fifty millions—the present income raised from the whole of British India. Under Shahjahán accumulations and expenditure both increased, so that the revenue cannot have diminished. Under Aurangzeb, the earlier official records show a nett revenue

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* "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire," by Edward Thomas, F.R.S. London, 1871.

† The importation of treasure into India during the decade ending 1876 amounted to more than ninety-five millions sterling, of which not much over seventeen millions was exported, so that nearly eighty millions remained in India, mostly added to the circulation.

from the land of over twenty-four millions, increased to thirty-four after the conquest of the southern kingdoms. Following the estimates of European travellers (one of whom lived for many years at Court), the aggregate revenue of the Empire rose at one time to close upon eighty millions a year. Whether all this was collected is another question, which we have no sufficient power to answer.

Mr. Thomas is so well-known as a scholar, numismatist, and antiquarian, that his authority is hardly likely to be questioned. It is, however, to be added that certain assumptions are necessary to support these high estimates; thus, for example, his estimate of Akbar's revenue is founded on a supposition that the six hundred and forty *krors* of *tankahs* spoken of by Nizám-ud-Din Ahmad the author of the "Tabákát," are equivalent to thirty-two *krors* of rupees, and that Abul Fazl has understated them in the proportion of a little less than one to three; for, according to the "Ain Akbari," the revenues of the Empire were less than ten *krors*. The latter estimates proceed upon the hypothesis that the rupee was always the tenth of the pound sterling; though Tavernier says that fourteen rupees were equal to twenty-one French *livres*, which would yield nearly seventeen to the pound. All alike require the admission that the separate revenue was always about the equivalent of that derived from land; though Jean de Laet, a contemporary Dutch author, says that Akbar's revenue was only about half the number of *tankahs* assigned by Nizám-ud-Din, and says nothing about any other sources of income. It would be very interesting to determine the exact meaning of the word *tankah*, as used in the Tabákát. It was, apparently, a copper coin familiar in those times; and may possibly have borne the same value as the modern *pái*, the sixty-fourth part of a rupee. Some support is given to this theory by Mr. Thomas himself:—

"Indian currency consisted of hybrid pieces of silver and copper, combined in the proportions necessary to constitute the equivalent subdivisions of the ruling silver *tankah*, which was never divided in practice by any other number than sixty-four."

If the copper (or "black") *tankah* was the divisor of the silver (or "white") *tankah*, it would thus seem to follow that it must have been the sixty-fourth of a rupee. In this case, six hundred and forty *krors* of *murádi tankahs* would have been the equivalent of ten *krors* of rupees, and the estimate of Nizám-ud-Din would be substantially identical with that of his contemporary and brother officer, the author of the "Ain," as we should naturally expect. (*Vide* "Appendix A.")

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHUGHTAI DYNASTY

(*Commonly called "The Mughal Empire"*).

It may not at first sight appear difficult to account for the name popularly given to the empire founded in India by the house of Taimur. "Moghul" or "Mughal" is a corruption of Mongol, and Taimur asserted that he was a collateral relation of Changez Khán, who was a famous Mongol leader. The difficulty arises when we observe that Bábar, the descendant of Taimur, by whom the Empire was founded, was anxious to repudiate what his ancestor had been anxious to claim, and that the family henceforth adopted the name of "Chughtai Turk" as antithetical to "Mughal," which last became almost a term of opprobrium in Bábar's mouth. How did such a change happen in the short space of one hundred years? It seems like Totila pretending not to be a Goth.

There was no doubt, in Central Asia, a tribe, or set of tribes, which at one time called themselves

Turks, in contradistinction to the Mongols. Hence, probably, arose the fabulous foundation of the genealogy, mentioned in Taimur's autobiography, which calls Japhet (the third son of Noah) the parent of Turk, Tartar, and Mongol. Taimur says that his father used to relate that he had heard from his ancestors that Japhet "Abu-Turk" had five sons, the fifth of whom had two sons by one mother, of whom one was called Tartar, the other Mughól.* But they and their offspring forgot Abu-Turk and his doctrines, and became blasphemers and savages, till they were quite separated and dispersed by constant quarrels. Karáchár Nuyán, the first of the race to become a true believer (Musulman), was great grandson of Kachauli Bahádur, whose brother was great grandfather of Changez Khán. This Karáchár married a daughter of Chughtai, son of Changez; and Taimur's father was the fifth in descent from their son Gor Khán. (These particulars are abstracted from a MS. in possession of the writer, which purports to be a translation from the Turkish, made or copied about A.D. 1652, and once the property of Saädat Ali Khán). If the latter part of this be a true pedigree, then the Amir Taimur was a Mongolian on both sides—or, at least, he united both branches; and Bábar, whose grandfather Abusaid was grandson of Taimur's third son, was equally Mongolian, as his mother was descended from Chughtai.

On the other hand it is stated by Vámbéry that Taimur's tribe (that of Barlás†) was Turk, as distin-

* As to the genuineness of these Memoirs, see Dowson's "Elliot's Historians of India," vol. iii., page 389, and f.f.; also the "Appendix."

† Barlás is given by Taimur as the son of Kachauli, the grand-uncle of Changez.

guished from Mongol. He adds, that "the opinion entertained by Weil, Hammer, and many other Orientalists on the authority of Mirkhond and Sherefedin, that Timour was of Mongolian origin involves a double error. The history of Timour's descent from Karadja Nuyán is a pure fable. That Timour should have been ever taken for a Mongolian can only be explained by the circumstance that the Persians long regarded the Khanate of Tchaghatai, on the further side of the Oxus, as an integral part of the Mongolian Empire" ("Bokhara," p. 163.)

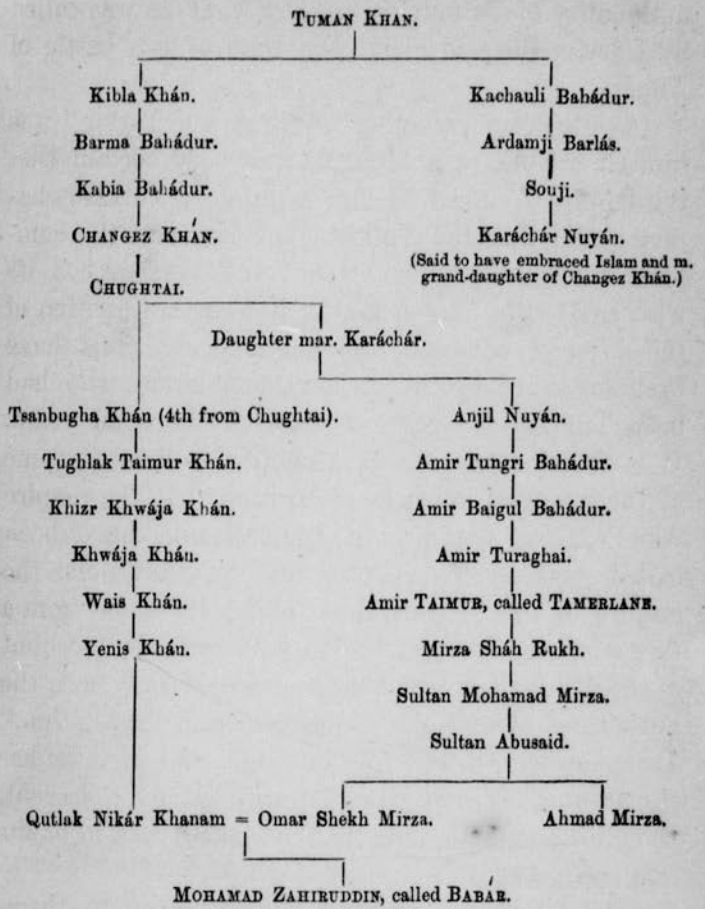
Now the Chughtai "Khanate" or principality was the territory seized upon by the descendants of Changez Khán's second son of that name when the empire of the great conqueror broke up. It is mentioned as such in Colonel Yule's very learned introduction to "Marco Polo's Travels," p. 10. That territory, therefore, was clearly Mongolian, and there is no doubt but that, even if Taimur's genealogy be incorrect, foreigners might have been well excused for regarding him as a Mongolian ruler after he had become possessed of it.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that Turks have been usually regarded as but barely and remotely, if at all, kinsfolk of the Mongolians; and that in practice there were many instances, both before and after Taimur, when races bearing those names were almost as hostile as ever were Turán and Irán in the days of Rustam and Afrasiáb. The Western Osmánlis own no modern connection with the Mongols, saying that it was the latter who, with the aid of the Chinese, drove them into the "Golden Mountains." It might be curious, as a side light upon the

nationality of Taimur, to enquire what he was called by Ilderim Báyazid about the time of the battle of Angora.

At all events, whether "Taimur the Tartar" was himself a Turk or a Mongol, it is very certain that the empire founded by him acquired a Turkish character, adopting the Turkish language and the comparatively civilised manners of the Persians on its west and south. Even taking it as a continuation of the Mongol conquest, the substructure must have been furnished by the resident population, who had been Turkish for perhaps nearly a thousand years. It is therefore, as Mr. Erskine justly observes, "one of the strangest caprices of fortune that the empire which Bábar founded in India should have been called, both in the country and by foreigners, the empire of the Moguls, thus taking its name from a race which he detested." The emperor's own account of the Mughals is that "they have uniformly been the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation." It is, however, to be borne in mind that Erskine has shown that Taimur was of purely Mongol descent, though he and his tribe had become Turks in habits and appearance.

The following are the pedigrees given to themselves by the Amir Taimur and Sultan Bábar in their respective autobiographies:—



From this it is evident that the founders of the Imperial House did not disdain Mughal—or Mughól—ancestry; and their successors only objected to the *word*, which had acquired a dyslogistic sense, not only meaning "barbarian," but also "heathen." The wilder Mughals had made an end of the Khalifate, that old Moslem Papacy; they were themselves at that time either Buddhists or common fetish-worshippers. We

see Taimur blaming his own forefathers for "forgetting Japhet and his God," and boasting of the acceptance of the true faith by Karáchár Nuyán. It was thus, no doubt, that in Central Asia the word "Mughól" (as Taimur spells it) came to have a dyslogistic meaning. Under Akbar, when the empire had become a firm result of successful war, the word recovered its prestige, and—like the name of "Goth" in Spain—came to indicate "a noble conqueror," or the descendant of one.

The following passage from Kháfi Khán, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the late Professor Blochmann, bears out this view:—

"The flourishing condition of Mughalistán commenced with Mughol Khan, who was a great king. Although from the time of Akbar the word Mughol has been applied to the Turks and Tájiks of Irán (Persia) to such an extent that even the Sayyids of Irán and Khorásán were called Mughols, yet in reality the word is the proper term for those Turks who belong to the descendants and house of Mughol Khán; and it was used in this sense in the time of the earlier (Moslem) kings of Dehli. The pedigree of the descendants of Mughol Khan reaches down to Changez Khán and the Amir Timur; but the descendants of the Mughol Khán were firmly attached to idolatry . . . . as you may see from the chronicles of Herat, where it is recorded that hundreds of thousands of Mussulmans were slain by the Mughols."

The writer also notices that the second vowel ought to be written and pronounced long, as, indeed it is written in Taimur's memoirs. So that, of all the spellings, Mogul, Mongol, Mughal, and Mughol or Mughól, it is the last only that is quite correct. The poet Khusru, too (Arc. 1300), makes the word rhyme with Arabic words of the conjugation *fáúl*.

As to language, Vámbéry says that though the Turkish vocabulary was chiefly Mongolian, the structure

of the languages differed. But there is no evidence that I know of that the Mughals of Bábar's time spoke anything but Turkish—not of course that of the Levant, but a language structurally resembling it. In later years and more southern latitudes the word "*Mughal*" was applied to all northern immigrants and their descendants; and hence the term was naturally adopted by Europeans.

It is fair to add that these genealogies may not be correct. Tsanbugha may not have been the father of of Tughluk Taimur, nor Khizr Khwája his son. On the other side, as Vámbéry suggests, the kinship of Karáchár Nuyán with Changez may be a fable invented by some flatterer in the days when Taimur was aiming at independence. All that can be said is that these are the only genealogies that are forthcoming, and that, if they prove nothing, they serve to show that in public estimation Bábar was a pure Mughal by both his parents.

Of his mother's father an interesting picture has been preserved, showing how the Mughal passed into the Turk. "I had heard," said a holy man sent to Yunis Khán, when he ruled in Mughalistán, "I had heard that Yunis Khán was a Mughal, and I concluded that he was beardless, with the rude ways of an inhabitant of the desert. But I found a handsome man, with a fine bushy beard, of elegant address, most agreeable and refined manners and conversation, such as are seldom to be met with even in the most polished society."* The wife of this chief was a

* *Vide* Erskine's "History of India," i. 60. In the introduction to this work will be found a very learned account of the tribes and their countries. See also "Appendix A" of the same work.

woman of the utmost spirit and resolution, who cut to pieces, with the help of her maids, a bridegroom who had been forced upon her by the fortune of war. They were fond of Umar Shekh, Bábar's father, and gave him their second daughter to wife. Umar Shekh himself, if we are to believe the records of the time, was equally of Mughal birth. From the pedigrees given above, taken from Bábar's "Memoirs" and Taimur's (now generally accepted as genuine), it appears that the Amir claimed to be ninth in descent from Toman Khán, great-great-grandfather of Changez Khán, the mightiest of all leaders of the Mongols. He died A.D. 1405, and was succeeded in his conquests by descendants who became gradually less and less able to cope with their hardy northern neighbours, and who—though not foregoing a nominal claim to the sovereignty of Hindustan and the Panjab—had to do all they knew to maintain any show of authority in the valley of the Oxus. But in 1482 was born a member of the family who was destined—and while losing his hereditary possessions—to realise the most ambitious dreams of his ancestor in other quarters.

Mirza Zahir-ud-Din Mohamad Bábar was the grandson of Abusaid, Taimur's grandson, and his mother was a free Mughal lady, descended from Chughtai, son of Changez. To her wild Tartar blood he probably owed the restless energy and cheerful easiness of his disposition. His father, Umar Shekh Mirza, inherited, of all the vast possessions of his house, nothing but the small principality of Farghána, a portion of the upper Jaxartes, now known as Kokand. This, though but a narrow tract, was fair and fertile, inhabited by a peaceful Aryan race, and

abounding in woods and streams, orchards and fountains, to which Bábar looked back fondly from all the subsequent summits of his adventurous career.

At twelve years of age Bábar found himself, by the death of his father, left to defend his poor but pleasant heritage against the designs of the brothers of both his parents. So successful was he in doing so that he turned the tables on his unnatural uncles, and in 1497 overran the district of Samarkand and temporarily occupied the capital. But he afterwards encountered in the Uzbeks a more formidable foe, and was at length driven, not only from his acquired territory, but from that which he had inherited from his father. He left Farghána in the twenty-third year of his age, and never again beheld his beloved native home.

Bábar's first movement was on Bokhára, which had belonged to his cousin, until a faithless minister murdered him and seized the power. Passing on towards Cabul, he found that this country also had fallen out of the hands of his family and had been taken possession of by the Arghan tribe of Turks.

Bábar's conquests in Bokhára were lost almost as quickly as they were acquired, and fell into the possession of the celebrated leader of the Uzbeks, Shaibáni Khán, who was more than a match for the young prince. But, in compensation, he acquired without trouble the greater part of what is now called Afghanistan in 1504.

Bábar was now king of Cabul, of Candahár, and of some outlying territory; and the following very brief annals will supply all that is requisite for our present purpose as to the events of his life during these

years. In A.D. 1505 he obtained complete possession of the capital and surrounding country, bounded on the north by the chain of the Hindu Kush. In 1506 his brother, Mirza Jahángir, went into revolt; and in the following year the movement was joined by the Mughals in the army, who set up a kinsman as a rival king. These acts of rebellion were quickly but leniently subdued. The young man's name was Abdurruzák, and by descent his pretensions were better than Bábar's. The Uzbeks, Bábar's old foes, created confusion by attacking him from the side of Herát, and Candahár was lost for some dozen years. But the great leader of the Uzbeks died in 1510; and henceforth they caused Bábar but little trouble in the rest of his new territory, though they maintained a successful war against him in Bokhára, and mostly kept him within his own limits. In 1522 he recovered Candahár, and two years later invaded the Panjab. He was at first unable or unwilling to move on further, or even to remain where he was; but in December of the following year he returned in greater force, and in 1526 became master of Upper India, and virtually laid the foundations of the Empire of the Mughals (more properly of the Chughtai Turks), which lasted for the next two centuries.

The state of the peninsula at that time may be thus briefly described:—Delhi was the nominal capital, but the federal bond—if such it can be called—which had existed under some of the Pathan Emperors, was worn to a thread. Bábar says: "At the period of my invasion five Musalmán Kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority . . . one of these powers was that of the Afghans. [By this he means the *soi-disant*

empire of the Lodis enthroned at Delhi] . . . Jaunpur had been held by Sultan Hasain Sharki. [This kingdom was often a bone of contention between the Delhi Empire and the successful adventurers]. After Firoz Sháh's death [1388, really not till 1394], his servants gained possession of the kingdom of Jaunpur . . . the Lodis seized the throne of Delhi as well as that of Jaunpur, and reduced both kingdoms under one government [1478]. The second ruler was Sultan Muhamad Muzafar in Gujarát (this kingdom was also a fragment broken off from the Delhi Empire about the end of the fourteenth century, in which an able minister founded a hereditary dynasty). The third kingdom is that of the Bahmans, in the Deccan. [This had, in fact, split up into three, namely:—Bijapur, founded by Adil Sháh; Ahmadnugur, by Nizám Sháh; and Golconda, by Kutb Sháh, all of which were carved out of the old possessions of the Moslem ruler of the Deccan about the time when Bábar overthrew the power of the Lodi Pathans in the north]. The fourth king was Sultán Mahmud, who reigned in the country of Málwa, which they likewise call Mándu. [This was the kingdom founded by Diláwar Ghori, at the break-up of Firoz Sháh Tughlak's Empire, at the end of the fourteenth century. By the time of which Bábar writes, this beautiful country was being fought for by the Rána of Udaipur on one side, and the Moslem ruler of Gujarát on the other.] The fifth prince was Nasrat Sháh, in the kingdom of Bengal." [This is the kingdom whose capital was at Gaur, or Lakhnaoti, a ruined city of the vast extent of over 30 square miles on the left bank of the Bhágirati, in the district now called Malda.]

"The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rája of Bijayanagur [this Rája continued to be one of the great powers of the South until he was overthrown and slain by a Moslem confederacy, in the battle of Talikot, in 1565]. Another is the Rána Sanka" [This was the famous hero of Mewar, now Udaipur. He is called Sung Ram, or Sanga, by Tod—"the finial on the pinnacle of Mewar's glory." he died in 1530, and his dynasty declined from that date. We shall hear more of him anon].

Bábar makes no account of the remaining rulers and chiefs of the country. It need only be mentioned that there were several small principalities in Berár, Bidar, Marwar, Jesalmir, and others of still less importance.

Such was the land invaded by our Bohemian hero —a mixture of Henri Quatre and the Roi d'Yvetot— whose *naif* autobiography has made him the darling of native historians. Though the son of a Mughal mother, and by the father's side sixth in descent from the bloody and bigoted Taimur, all his tastes and manners were such as Europeans sympathise with; and he laid himself out for alliances among his Aryan neighbours, the Persians, rather than among the tribes of his own natural kin. He was now in the forty-fourth year of his age, and had entered upon an expedition which—as with a peaceful conqueror of more modern times—had been "the dream of his life." From the time of his first settlement in Cabul, Bábar tells us he had "always been bent on subduing Hindustan." . . . "Sometimes," he adds, "from the misconduct of my amirs, and their dislike of the plan, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my

brothers, I was prevented from prosecuting the expedition." The brothers thus mentioned were two, Jehángir Mirza and Násir Mirza; one of whom we have seen in open revolt in Cabul. They were the sons of different mothers; neither seems to have been a man of much ability, and neither gave much trouble after the conquest of India. Bábar had four sons, Humáyun, Kamrán, 'Askari, and Hindul, of whom the first was in his nineteenth year at the time of the conquest.

The decisive action was fought in the neighbourhood of Pániput—where so many great Indian battles have taken place—on the 21st April, 1526. Bábar represents the Hindustanis as outnumbering him tenfold; but attributes his victory—under Providence—to the use of his guns, protected by fascines, chains and fieldworks (his Tartar ancestors had been accustomed to fortify their encampments in this way).

The Hindustani leader, Ibrahim Lodi, dying in the fight, the throne was left without an occupant. The conqueror took possession of Delhi and Agra, and his court was established at the latter place, though apparently on the opposite side of the river to that on which stand the present fort and city.

"When I first arrived in Agra," writes Bábar, "there was dislike and a strong hostility between my people and the natives." Besides a number of the Hindu chiefs, there were native Mussalman nobles who had been in chronic opposition to the late king, and who were by no means willing to accept the sway of his successor. "When I came to Agra the hot weather had begun. All the inhabitants fled from terror, so that we could not find provisions, either for

our horses or ourselves. The villagers had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable. I had not yet been able to divide the treasure, or to send proper officers to take charge of the outlying districts." It also happened, unfortunately, that the heat that year was of unusual severity, and many of Bábar's northmen fell victims to apoplexy. A number of his officers now lost heart, and began to make preparations for returning to a more agreeable and congenial climate. Bábar harangued them, like Henry V. in Shakspeare—"Let noi any one who calls himself my friend ever in future make such a proposal. But, if there be any one among you who still cannot give up his purpose, let him depart." One chief alone had the face to leave his master after this appeal. The frank monarch forgave him, and he was sent in charge of the treasure to be distributed among those who had remained behind at home.

In the midst of these troubles—and with Kanauj, Etáwa, Dholpur, Gwalior, Biána, strong places, all in the vicinity of the capital, held by hostile garrisons—Bábar was threatened with an immediate attack by Sanka, or Sanga, the formidable Rána of Udaipur. The historian of Rájastán, who had his portrait, thus describes this Hindu Don Roderic :—

"Sanga Rána was of the middle stature, but of great muscular strength; fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes, which appear to be peculiar to his descendants. He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior; one eye was lost in a broil with his brother, an arm in action with the Lodi king of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball in another, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or lance on various parts of his body."

Such was the doughty champion who, in the second

year of the conquest, advanced to contest with the Turks the possession of the land of Hind.* The year appears to have been passed in alternate gains and losses. The Rajput confederacy, under Sanga, gained some places held by friends of Bábar, but the latter obtained the fort of Gwalior, and his son, Humáyun seized Jaunpur and other places to the eastward. In the month of October, 1527 (Tod says 1528, but this is a palpable error), hearing that the Hindus were besieging Biána, Bábar set out from Agra to attack him.

By comparison of the narrative in "Bábar" with the Rajput account, as given by Tod, it appears that some time was now wasted in negotiation. Sanga had been in the habit of corresponding amicably with Bábar, so long as the latter was, like himself, the enemy of the Lodi dynasty; and others of the Hindu chiefs were intriguing separately for their own profit and advantage still. The Mussulman army was at first encamped in Sikri—one of the villages now enclosed in Akbar's well-known park—about twenty-two miles to the west of Agra. One day, a young officer named Aziz, being in temporary command of the advanced guard, precipitated matters by marching forward about ten miles at the head of a small force of less than fifteen hundred men, who were immediately attacked by an overwhelming body of the enemy's horse. Confusion ensued; a horse-tail standard was captured, and many of the Turks with it; Bábar

* Mr. Wheeler has advanced the theory that the founders of the "Moghal Empire" were Vedic Aryans, but we learn from Tod that they were regarded in Hindu legend as the hereditary foes of the solar and lunar races, and their destined supplanters in the Southern lands, of which they were both alike invaders.

hurried forward reinforcements, and the retreat was covered by a superior officer named Mohamad Ali Jang, the emperor also bringing up some guns to support. Bábar now resolved on making a complete entrenchment and protecting his precious guns: at the same time he reflected seriously on his sins, and—to use a modern, but quite correct expression—"took the pledge." The whole of the plate used in wine-parties was broken up, and the fragments given to the poor. This public act so increased the despondency of the Turks that desertions followed, and Bábar found himself compelled to have recourse to the most solemn appeal at his command. Having sworn his companions on the Koran to conquer or die on the field, he ordered a general advance on Tuesday, the 12th of March—the first day of the Persian year—and finding that the enemy was advancing on his side, Bábar threw up fresh entrenchments near a village called Kánhwa, two marches from Biána, drawing up his cavalry on either side of his batteries, and placing his musketeers and infantry in the rear. After a successful skirmish and some more negotiation, the Turks moved out of their lines in the above order on the morning of Saturday, the 16th, headed by the emperor in person. The Rajputs were mowed down by the fire of the artillery, which they could neither answer nor attack; the Hindu chief who led the van deserted; Sanga fled; and Bábar found himself victor. Great slaughter occurred in the first pursuit, but it was not followed up, an omission for which Bábar blames himself in his memoirs.

This action determined for the time the fate of

that part of the country properly called Hindustan, and consolidated the empire of the invaders. Alwar was next reduced, and made over to the heir-apparent, Humáyun. In the following year Chandairi—one of Sanga's acquisitions—was taken by storm in spite of a desperate sally by the besieged, who, after slaying all their women, rushed out sword in hand, naked, according to a well-known Rajput custom called *johar*.

The conquest of Bahár and of Audh next took place, whereby the Hindustani Moslems—or Pathans—were for the time reduced to submission. In 1528 a treaty was made with Rána Bikramájit, the son and successor of Rána Sanga, who had not long survived his disastrous defeat at Kánhwa. Another campaign followed in Bahár, where the Pathans had once more broken out. In this enterprise Bábar was assisted by his son 'Askari, and especially by the light and heavy guns under Ustád Ali Kuli. But the health and spirits of the adventurer were by this time undermined by hard work, and, it is sad to say, by indulgence in wine; for the charming memoirs by his own pen break off abruptly, and finally on the 3rd Moharam, 936, corresponding to 8th September, 1529. Next year Bábar died, in the fiftieth year of his age. His death took place at Agra, on the 20th December, 1530, and his son, Humáyun, succeeded peacefully. The dominions of the family were of great extent, including Badakshán and Kunduz beyond the Hindu Kush; together with Cabul, Ghazni, and Kandahár, with the plain country round them; and all the Panjab, Hindustan, and Bahár. His body lay for some time in a garden near

Agra,* and was thence conveyed to Cabul, where the tomb is still to be seen.

Judged by his own inimitable "confessions," Bábar was a typical Turk, amiable, social, enduring, fond of all pleasures—fighting included—with scant sense of duty, and neither taste nor talent for administration. The following is the testimony of an able contemporary, while resident in Bábar's camp, as to the capacity of the Turks of those days:—"If luck and fortune favour me," said Sher Sháh, "I will expel the Mughals from Hind, for they are not superior to the Afghans in battle or single combat; but the Afghans have let the empire slip through their fingers by means of their dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughals, and observed their conduct, I see that they have no order or discipline; and that their rulers, from pride of birth and station, *do not personally superintend the administration, but leave affairs and all the business of state to chiefs and ministers, in whose sayings and doings they blindly trust. These grandees act on corrupt motives in every case, whether it be a soldier's, a cultivator's, or a rebellious Zamindár's. . . . From this lust of gold they make no distinction between friend and foe.*" †

The shrewd observer who made this diagnosis was a Pathan, or Indian Afghan, named Sher Khán. He lived to make good his boast, and to show that it is not impossible for a devout son of Islam to be a just and laborious administrator, when he is neither spoiled by Turkish habits, nor served by Turkish subordinates.

It only remains to remark that no doubt whatever

* *Vide* note in fin.

† Abbas Khan *apud* "Dowson" (vol. iv.)

exists as to the genuineness of the book that has been referred to as the "Memoirs or Confessions of the Conqueror." "The Wakiát-i-Bábari," originally written by Bábar in the Turki language, were translated into Persian by Mirza Abdurrahím Khán, one of Akbar's generals, about sixty years after Bábar's death. They have been also translated into French in our own day, by M. Pavet de Courteille; and there are two excellent works in English, chiefly founded upon the Persian translation, by the late Mr. W. Erskine. The writer of these pages has had access to a fine illustrated manuscript copy of Abdurrahím's version, which once belonged to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, and is supposed, from a statement in the fly-leaf, to have been transcribed by his Majesty's own hand. An excellent analysis of the work will be found in "Dowson" (vol. iv., p. 219 and pf.)

It has been said above that Humáyun succeeded Bábar peacefully. He did so in respect of his own family; but the peace was soon disturbed. Sultan Mahmud, the last of the Lodis, was stirring to the eastward; and a more formidable rival was appearing in the same neighbourhood in the person of the brilliant adventurer above mentioned, Sher Khán. An elaborate biography of this celebrated man was written by order of Akbar, who had sufficient generosity to desire the preservation of the memory of one with whom his father had coped without success. The author, Abbas Khán, was an Afghan of the Sarwáni tribe, connected with his hero's family, and writing about forty years after the beginning of the period with which he deals. Copious extracts are given in "Dowson," and the opinion of Sir H. Elliot is recorded

to the [illegible] work is particularly valuable [illegible] it affords of gauging the character and talents of the hero, and the state of anarchy to which he succeeded. The extracts, which are translated with great spirit, will be found in "Dowson," vol. iv., pp. 305-488. We need only note here a few particulars calculated to show what good qualities can be displayed by a Hindustani Mussulman.

The future monarch was born at Bijdar, the grandson of an immigrant from the Afghan province of Roh, on the spurs of the Sulaimán range, well-known afterwards from giving its name to the Rohillas and the country occupied by them, in the decline of the empire, between the Ganges and the Kumaon hills. The date of his birth is nowhere stated; but it must have been about A.D. 1480. He was thus nearly contemporary with Ferdinand of Spain, Louis XI. of France, and Henry VII. of England. Like all these rulers he was ambitious and crafty, more inclined to cherish the poor than to pamper the rich. His name was originally Farid, and his mother was a free Afghan lady. Having proceeded to Jaunpur for his education, he soon gave proofs of unusual ability; and, on obtaining charge of a district in Behár, at once proceeded to lay the foundations of that system of settlement which afterwards bore such splendid fruit in the "Institutes of Akbar." Summoning to his presence the collecting officials, the village accountants, and the heads of the cultivating class, he announced his intention of strictly limiting the payment of each occupier of the land to the proportion—payable either in cash or kind at the payer's pleasure—that might be fixed on his lands after proper measurement. "I

will be lenient," he added, "in assessing, but will collect with the utmost strictness; but so long as you pay punctually you may bring all your complaints to me. I will take care that no one oppresses you."

The man who devised these things at the outset of his public life remained such as he was throughout, never giving way to that sloth and carelessness which he saw to be the danger of the Turks. Family troubles drove him for a time from home, and he went to Delhi and Agra. Shortly before the fall of the Lodis he lost his father; but he was appointed to the charge of the country about Sahsarám, in Bahár, by the favour of Daulah Khán, a nobleman at court, whom he had served. About this time he acquired the title of "Sher Khán," by which he was henceforth known. He must now have been approaching his forty-fifth year. He at first maintained the Lodi cause in Bahár, but in 1528 joined Bábar. At the court of the conqueror he soon attracted a somewhat anxious attention. Perceiving his aspiring and energetic character, Bábar contemplated his arrest; but the wary Pathan anticipated the intention, and retired to Bahár, where he soon made himself master of the whole country, and had ere long effected a substantial lodgment in the neighbouring kingdom of Bengal, where he advanced as far as Gaur, the capital city before alluded to, to which he laid siege.

Humáyun, the eldest son of Bábar, was about twenty-two years of age at the time of his accession. Sher Khán amused him with professions of obedience as long as it suited his own purposes. But the new emperor, warned no doubt by the councillors of his late father, turned upon the dangerous adventurer as

soon as leisure offered, and the opportunity of the engagement of the latter in an arduous enterprise seemed a fit one. Humáyun, too, had the prestige of conquest, and of the possession of the capital cities, besides the command of a seasoned army of hardy northmen. But, in truth, the odds were rather in favour of his enemy than of himself. The kingdom of Cabul, whence his supplies of men and officers were to be drawn, was in the hands of his brother, Kámrán, who was jealous and unfriendly. The actual conquerors had already become fine gentlemen, after the fashion of Turks who prosper. The emperor himself was young and inexperienced, with the heavy disadvantage of having been born in the purple. He was no more a match for the strenuous and ripened adventurer, than a Bourbon prince would have been for Napoleon. After a nine years' war, in which the emperor showed all the courage and endurance of his race, the fortune of the Pathan and his superior abilities so prevailed that Humáyun had no choice but to quit India. After a series of toilsome and dangerous wanderings, of which the story is pathetically detailed by a faithful servant, Humáyun found a stormy asylum with Sháh Tahmásp, the Shia king of Persia. These troubles lasted four years—from 1540 to 1544—during which time Sher Khán, under the title of Sher Sháh, completely consolidated his power in Hindustan.

The whole of the adventurer's conduct, both up to his accession and subsequently during his short reign, was pervaded by the principle of *unity*. It was the dissensions of the native Mussulmans that had caused their weakness; it was in consolidation that their hopes were to be hereafter moored. This conviction, though

it could not be handed down to weaker minds, is worthy of our attention, because it was destined to bear fruit in the government of Akbar; and it is probable that the strength of the Indian Turks—so long as their strength lasted—was due to their empire being based upon the example of Sher Sháh. A devout Moslem: he never oppressed the Hindus. Disputes among his own followers he suppressed with all the energy of his nature. "He employed himself," says the chronicler, "in personally discharging the administration of his kingdom; he divided both day and night into portions for each separate business, and suffered no sloth or idleness; 'for,' said he, '*it behoves the great to be always active* . . . they should consider no affairs of State to be small or petty, and should repose no undue confidence in subordinates. The corruption of ministers of my rivals was the means of my acquiring the kingdom.'" Here, no doubt, as in his earlier speech in Bábar's camp, he showed a just appreciation of the inherent weakness of Turkish rule. Like the advancing tide, it may be strong for destruction, but it creates nothing.

In the first hour after sunrise, Sher Sháh always performed his devotions, and immediately turned his attention to business, mustering his troops and conversing with the recruits. He then went over his accounts, and gave audiences. After two hours and a half of such work he breakfasted, always in the society of learned and pious men; immediately afterwards returning to business. After the noon-day prayer he rested for a short time; on rising he read the Korán, and then fell to work again. He divided his territory into 116,000 *parganas*, or fiscal unions of

townships, in each of which he employed five officials, of whom one at least was a Hindu accountant, and another a judicial official, to mediate between the officers of the crown and the actual representatives of the people. A complete civil and criminal code took the place of the law of Islam. His settlements were for one year, based on an annual measurement of the cultivated areas and the nature of the produce. No official was allowed to remain in the same place more than two years; the inlying districts were disarmed. "From the borders of Oudh to the Satlaj river the land had peace," as Sher Sháh himself remarked. A royal highway ran from the shores of the Bay of Bengal to the new Rohtás, the great fort that Sher Sháh had built near the banks of the Jhelam, and named after his earlier strong place near Sahsarám, in Bahár. At intervals of four miles all along this road were caravanserais for the accommodation of travellers; the sides were bordered by wells and fruit trees. Another similar road ran from Agra to Burhánpur, on the borders of the Deccan; a third, from Agra also, traversed the whole breadth of Rájputána; a fourth connected the cities of Lahore and Multán. Daily posts carried the news along these roads from one end to the other. He finished the city begun by Humáyun on part of the site of the ancient Indrápat, near Delhi, and announced his intention, if life were spared, of building a fortified place of refuge in every district. It is impossible to avoid the observation, that no government—not even the British—has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan.

In the midst of these labours Sher Sháh met with "the petty fortress and the dubious hand" that

conquerors and heroes cannot reckon on escaping. He died at the siege of Kalinjar in Bandelkhand, on the 22nd of May, 1545, from injuries caused by the explosion of a magazine near which he was standing, and which was struck by a chance shot from the enemy's batteries. He was buried at Sahsarám, where —before the opening of that section of the East Indian Railway—travellers by "The Grand-Trunk-Road" of his European successors have often paused to admire the beautiful mausoleum, prototype of the Agra Táj Mahal, standing on an island in the middle of a piece of water, faced with cut-stone walls.

Sher Sháh's second son succeeded to his vast power under the title of Islam Sháh, and reigned nine years. The codes of his father were so wise and serviceable that in civil matters he ought to have had nothing to initiate. He maintained the fame of his family for public works, but being unable to let well alone, he introduced changes into the administration which had the effect of alienating the nobility; and he was personally arbitrary, and even cruel. The old contentiousness of the Pathans revived; the whole reign was consumed in fruitless quarrels and a systematic depression of the Pathan chiefs. Islam Sháh died in November, 1554. His son was murdered by the brother of his wife, the boy's maternal uncle; fresh broils and rebellions followed. Finally, Humáyun, who had wrested Cabul from his rebellious brother, Kámrán, profited by these troubles, occupied in succession Lahore and Sirkind, and took possession of Delhi and Agra in the autumn of 1555.

The Sur family still possessed a tower of strength in the extraordinary talents of a Hindu officer named

Hemu, who was at this time engaged on a campaign in Bengal. But the weary Humáyun seems to have thought himself justified, under all the circumstances, in taking a brief repose. He held the Panjab, and in a sort of way Hindustan as far as Agra. To the eastward, the Surs and other Afghan tribes were still pursuing their selfish feuds. What may have been the state of the people, exposed to the daily devastations of bodies of needy armed men, having no feeling in common but contempt and hatred for their blood and creed, and lust for their women and their goods, can only be conjectured.

The restored emperor may well have felt like one newly roused from a troubled sleep and anxious to sleep again. He was not yet an old man, and what changes he had seen! The despised Hindustani plebeian driving him out, at last, almost without a blow; the indigenous administration entirely replacing his for half a generation, while he was wandering in the wilderness; and now his return to the capital, almost as easy and as sudden as his departure. Like an earlier royal wanderer, he may have said in moments of devotion: "Even like as a dream when one awaketh so shalt thou make their image to vanish out of the city."

Our last glimpse of this much-vexed monarch is in the attitude of worship. There is, in the city begun by Humáyun and finished by Sher Sháh, an octagonal building of three storeys, said to have been used as a library, and showing traces of having been once ornamented with mural painting. It is within earshot of the mosque of Sher Sháh, that last and loveliest work of the third Pathan period of architecture. Here, as the newly-restored emperor was resting one winter

afternoon, he heard the *muazzin's* cry to prayer from the neighbouring place of worship. He rose suddenly to obey the call, but the end of his staff slipped on the polished pavement as he leant upon it to help him in rising. He fell upon the stair-head, and was precipitated down one flight of steps. He does not appear to have suffered much external injury, for he walked home to his apartments in the Fort. But he had been hurt inwardly, and he died, after a short illness, on the 26th January, 1556, in the forty-ninth year of his age.*

It is necessary to examine briefly into the causes of the chief vicissitudes of this short but dramatic period of Indian history. Some have been already hinted; but it is startling to find them operating with such rapidity. It could scarcely have been expected that Bábar's hardy Turks could have been so utterly demoralised in ten years as appeared at the rout of Kanouj, by which, for a time, the empire was lost. And it is not less strange to find their conquerors equally feeble when they returned in triumph after a scarcely more important interval. But the truth is, that Hindustan is a treacherous mistress, who slays with smiles all who rest upon her bosom with too much confidence. The rout of Kanouj, as described by a Turkish leader who was engaged there, presents a most astounding picture of the deterioration by luxury of a body of men who had fought not many years before so gallantly against overwhelming odds at Pánipat. Twenty-seven horse-tail standards, says Haidar Mirza, were concealed that morning because the *amirs* were afraid to display them. Each *amir* was attended by

* Keene's "Handbook for Visitors to Delhi," p. 35.

hundreds of pampered pages and followers, who got into the way of the soldiery, and hampered all their manœuvres. The chiefs fled at the first onset, and before a drop of blood had fallen; the only deaths were those of officers and men drowned in retreat by the weight of their own armour. Such was the army of Bábar under the command of his son. Of the army of Sher Sháh, under his son's successor, we may form some conception when we find him glad to give the command to a Hindu corn-chandler. One can best describe such a state of things by imagining Jena to have been fought a few years after Rosbach, and to have been closely followed by Sedan. Of such short endurance are the best systems when they rest upon the casual merits of a despot, and not on the general virtues of the community.

It is proper to add, that, according to Erskine, Bábar's veterans had been much reduced in number during the campaigns that preceded the above event, and that the men who would not fight at Kanouj were to a great extent raw recruits. The misconduct of Humáyun's brothers intercepted his supplies of good men and officers too, and weakened him in every way. Kámrán, in particular, at this period held Cabul and the Panjab in almost open hostility to the Emperor.

His own character, as drawn by his kinsman Haidar, is worthy of note as one of the causes of his troubles:—

"I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence; but, by reason of having dissolute and sensual servants, and having intercourse with them, and with men of mean and profligate character . . . . he contracted certain bad habits—

such as the excessive use of opium—and the business which, as a prince, he should have managed, he left entirely to them."

(A complete contrast in this respect to his rival, Sher Sháh, will here be remarked).

"Nevertheless he had many good qualities. In battle steady and brave; in conversation he was ingenious and lively; and at table full of wit. He was kind-hearted and liberal. He was a dignified and magnificent prince, and observed much state; so that . . . . in his broken fortunes, when . . . . his pomp and style were no longer what they had been, yet when the army was marshalled for the Ganges campaign, at the time when its superintendence devolved upon me, the number of artizans that attended him was seventeen thousand—from which may be conjectured the scale of his whole establishment."

A witty, voluptuous, opium-eating prince, with a showy establishment, in which the camp followers far outnumbered the combatants, was no match for Sher Sháh!

The death of Humáyun was the signal for the return from Bengal of Hemu, the warlike chandler, to whom Adel Sháh Sur had entrusted the command of his army. This extraordinary man had found his way to court, simply on business, probably of a municipal nature; and at first attracted favour in connection with money-matters about A.D. 1533. A local chief having broken into rebellion in the following year, Hemu, who was conscious of peculiar talents for the organisation of details, undertook to put him down if he were trusted with a small force. His proposal was accepted, and he set off for Biána, the scene of the rebellion, with about four thousand horse and four elephants. The rebel sent his head groom against him, and went out hunting in another direction. Hemu flattered the Afghan captains, who made easy

work of the groom and his army. Then the chief had to come in person. His force consisted of 8000 cavalry and 3000 foot, with ten fighting elephants and a train of guns. Seeing himself overmatched in point of force, Hemu succeeded in persuading his followers to make a night attack upon the enemy's camp. The scheme—usually accounted so difficult—was carried out without a blunder: the rebels, attacked in the deep sleep of "the small hours," were slaughtered or put to flight. Hemu appeared before the throne with folded hands while the prize was presented. A dress of honour was ordered for him; but the wily Hindu said that "he was but a poor tradesman; the victory was due to the exertions of the soldiers; let his Majesty's bounty light first on them." By conduct like this the hearts of soldiers are won; and it was thus that military men and Moslems learned to be subject to one who was neither the one nor the other.

On the Turkish side was a leader equally conspicuous by an elevation due to his own merits—the celebrated Bairám Khán, a Turk of the Karáa Kuinlu branch,* born in Badakshán, but enrolled while still young under the banners of Humáyun. Having joined Humáyun in his wanderings he gained the favour of the fugitive monarch, and was now in charge of the youthful Akbar, with an army engaged in pacifying the Panjab. On the 15th of February, 1556, the news of the emperor's death arrived in camp, and Akbar assumed the succession at Kalánur, a few miles north of Amritsur, on which occasion Bairám was

* These are the celebrated followers of the "Black Sheep," a banner which carried terror through Persia and as far as Bághdád in earlier days.

appointed prime minister, both for war and peace, with the titles of *Vakil-i-mutlak* and *Khán-khánan*, meaning "plenipotentiary" and "lord of lords."

Hemu advanced upon Agra, which was evacuated without resistance by the Turkish forces. Under the walls of Delhi he routed the Turkish governor, and entered the city, where he is said to have proclaimed himself sovereign by the title of "Raja Bikram Aditya." He then marched northwards, till he found himself confronted by the northern army at Pánipat; the same place where north and south had met in hostile array thirty years before, and where they were destined again to meet for the decision of an equally fatal issue after the lapse of more than two centuries.

Details of the battle will be found in "Elphinstone," but he does not seem to have any clear idea of the reasons which gave the victory to Akbar. The Turks appear to have been persuaded to do their duty both by the words and by the deeds of Bairám—for he slew, on his own authority, Jardi Beg, the chief who had fled from Delhi; and he reminded the other leaders, in a grand durbar, that they had no further refuge if beaten, "for their homes were a thousand miles off." * On the other side, the Hindustani Mussulmans appear to have been alienated by Hemu's late arrogance, and to have ceased all opposition as soon as he sank down wounded in his howdah. The date of this battle is 5th November, 1556.

The valiant chandler was brought into the tent of Akbar, senseless from an arrow-wound in his fore-

* Ahmad Shah's Vazir used the same argument in the later battle at the same place (*Vide* Inf. Chap. ix.)

head. Bairám, having vainly tried to make the generous boy flesh his maiden sword upon the dying man, cut him down in his presence. The head was sent to Cabul and the body exposed over one of the gates of Delhi.

The rest of Hindustan was then occupied without farther difficulty. The Panjab cost one more brief campaign. Adil Sháh Sur died soon after in Bengal; and Akbar, only in his twelfth year, found himself master of all India north of the Nerbudda.

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Erskine (founding his statement on Bábar's own relation) confirms this:—"Bábar began to build a palace and to lay out a garden on the left bank of the Jumna, opposite to Agra, and encouraged his nobility to imitate his example; these improvements soon grew into a fine suburb." (Ibid. p. 451).

The illustrations to the old MS. of "Bábar's Memoirs," once the property of Sháhjahán, shew many traits of the manners of the adventurers; their use of mounted bowmen, their gilded armour, their kettle-drums, shawms, and rude artillery; their bivouacs on the snowy mountains, and their picnic parties and drinking bouts in sunny gardens; their men with pointed moustaches, and fair women with faces unveiled in domestic life. The pictures are not unlike those of mediæval Europe in old copies of Froissart and Monstrelet.

NOTE TO CHAPTERS I. AND II.

NOTE.—Many arguments for and against the theory assumed in this and the preceding chapter might be adduced; but the purpose in view would hardly justify a discussion which, before exhausting the subject, might well exhaust the patience of the most indulgent reader. That purpose is simply to explain the title of the present work, and to do so it has been thought convenient incidentally to assume the hypothesis that Turks and Moghuls (or Mughals) may have had a common origin. It should also be mentioned that the writer is aware

that he has not used the words "Tartar," "Turk," or "Mongol" (Mughal) in any definite scientific sense. In the same spirit of provisional supposition he has employed Tartar to mean—what it generally, perhaps, does in popular use—Turanian (or flat-faced) nomads wherever found. "Turk," means a group of tribes with the tendency to move south and west, affecting Islam, the seclusion of women, and some approach to civilised urban life; while "Mongol" is understood to apply to that portion of the Tartar clans to which Changez belonged, in their native condition of wandering, almost savage, fighting shepherds.

Erskine,* quoting from the "Shajrat-ul-Atrák," says that the story was that "Turk," the son of "Yafith," was the progenitor of Tátár and Moghul. Abulgházi, of Khwarizm, is represented as saying that he wrote his book "in the Moghal or Turki language." Altogether, the subject seems sufficiently confused to justify one in adopting (of course under correction) the theory that is the most convenient. The fact remains, in any case, that the people of India were accustomed to call their northern invaders Mughals, and that those invaders were for the most part both physically and mentally what are usually called Turks.

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CHAPTER III.

THE INSTITUTES OF AKBAR.

In a short lecture upon modern Persia, delivered at the United Service Institution of Simla, on the 12th July, 1877, it was well said by the lecturer, Major A. B. St. John, R.E., that "the Turks have many admirable qualities. . . . But, partly from inveterate pride of race, and partly from avarice, they are the worst governors in the world of subject races, looking upon every other being as created for their sole use and benefit. The early Turk sovereigns of India, Persia, and Byzantium, recognised this defect in themselves, and used natives of the countries they conquered in all public offices." "Except the army," added the lecturer; but in the illustrious example now before us we shall find that the army was no exception. It was because Akbar employed all classes of the natives in all branches of the public service, without any exception, that the "Mughal Empire" took root in India under him, and was a domestic institution of the country—not a mere superficial dominion like so many before him, and, alas! like that of his present successors.

At the time of his father's death, Akbar was in his fourteenth year, having been born on the 15th October, 1542. His mother's name was Hámida Begam, a lady of Persian extraction, with whom Humáyun fell so desperately in love, on his way through Sindh, that marriage was the only possible cure. This lady henceforth bore the name of Maryám Mahali, "our Lady of the Palace."

The young sovereign was at first dependent for advice and aid partly on his military governor, Bairám Khán, the Turkish leader, to whom he owed the victory over Hemu, which had opened Hindustan to his arms; and partly to a lady who had been his nurse, and who was called Máham 'Anka. Bairám's family had settled in Badukshán, and his father joined the army of Bábar when that Prince supplanted Amir Khusru in Kunduz, August, 1504. The young Bairám had entered the army of India, and was one of those who escaped from the rout of Kanauj (1546). He was about this time married to Humáyun's sister; and he appeared before the world as *atálik* (governor) of the new monarch, with the titles of *Vakil* and *Khán-khánán* ("Lieutenant of the Empire and Captain-General"). He was in the prime of life, able, and with every advantage that prestige and real merit could confer. He made over the land revenue to a Turk of arbitrary character, named Muzafar Khán; but the selection was amply justified by the results, for the officer not only made an attempt at an accurate and sensible assessment, but had the still greater merit of training Todar Mal, his more celebrated successor. Of other *protégés* of Bairám, no less than twenty-five ultimately rose to the rank of *Panj Hazári* ("com-

mander of five thousand") the highest rank in Akbar's peerage below princes of the blood.

But Bairám's power did not last long. The boy-emperor was probably warped by his female guardian, and was perhaps easily deceived at an age when the openness of a frank temper has not had time to be taught caution. No doubt the minister also displayed arrogance. Muzafar's fiscal reforms had not yet begun, and the resources of the country were withering under the blight of hosts of military grantees. Distrust arose on both sides, till at last the minister was worried into open rebellion. Akbar took him prisoner, and pardoned him on condition of his going on a pilgrimage. He departed, but was assassinated by a Pathan on his way to the port of embarkation. These events occurred in the fifth year of the reign.

The young emperor was now approaching the age when a ruler is held capable to manage his own affairs. Accordingly, we shall henceforth have to notice him as the founder of the institutions and methods of a reign which gave peace and prosperity to millions of the human race, and which covered Hindustan with a glory that has never passed away. In this reign of forty-seven years—one of the longest in Eastern history—many intrigues and wars took place, which are recorded in Elphinstone's admirable work, and the account of which need not be repeated. The object of the present pages is to show only such things as affected the welfare of the people—the social, fiscal, and artistic events and movements of the time.

The reign of Akbar, from the fifth year to the end, forms three periods. During the first, which lasted about fifteen years, he was much occupied with war,

field sports, and building; and the men by whom he was ultimately influenced were still at that time young, like himself. Opinions were forming; territorial and administrative operations were in hand. About 1576 began a second period, marked by the arrival of certain shias and other persons of heretical opinions from Persia, and by the growth of their influences over Akbar. At the same time, the emperor, now in the maturity of his intellect, turned his attention to the Hindus, and to the amelioration and establishing of the revenue system by which they were so much affected. This period lasted for about fifteen years, and was followed by that sadder period when—as must happen, except under exceptional circumstances—men in power grow old without having found competent successors. In such conditions originality drivels into cant, and caution withers into decay. One by one the reformers—a few years since so full of hope and vigour—drop into senility, or, more fortunate, into the tomb. No one is left but some lover of letters who, wiser than the rest, retires betimes into the shade to prepare the record of departed greatness.

The circumstances of Bairám's fall are not clearly known, but they have generally been held to have originated in the intrigues of Máham 'Anka; "that pattern of chastity," as the chroniclers politely call her, being jealous of the warrior's ascendency, and anxious to provide for her own illegitimate son, Adham Khán. The retribution that awaited this family was tragical, but appropriate.

In 1562, Akbar proceeded on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shekh Muin-ud-din Chisti, at Ajmir. On

the way he was met at Sanganir (now a station on the Rajputana State Railway) by Raja Bihári Mal, the ancestor of the present reigning family of Jaipur, whose daughter the emperor married, raising the raja at the same time to the command of "Five thousand;" Tod states that he had held this rank under Humáyun. He adds that the marriage of his grand-daughter to Jahángir was the first matrimonial alliance between this family and the house of Taimur; but this is only one of the inaccuracies of that, in many respects, interesting writer. The marriage of Akbar to Bihári's daughter is mentioned by contemporary chroniclers.* The rája died soon after at Agra.

As this lady was the first Hindu who became the wife of a Turkish emperor, and as she was, most likely, the mother of the next emperor (and the *Maryám Yamani* usually supposed to have been a Christian lady), the marriage is in every respect worthy of notice. The Mongols were, in all probability, in old times disposed to exogamy, and although the Turkish branch by whom the Indian Empire was founded did not maintain the practice in its exclusive purity, the feeling that underlies it seems to have had great influence upon their race characteristics, and to have lingered among them in the form of a survival to later days. Akbar and his successors turned it to a political purpose.

The original and fundamental feeling was perhaps one of which the source is to be found in the low estimate of the female character, and in the state of

* See, for example, Dowson's "Elliot," p. 274. See also Blochmann's "Ain Akbari," vol. i. p. 329, and "Calcutta Review," vol. v. p. 329.

war that was normal in High Asia. Traces of it have been even supposed in such distant countries as Sweden and Scotland (see for example Scott's ballad of "Young Lochinvar") and amongst many Tartar tribes. Even now, in parts of Asia it is said that a pretended capture of the bride is still observed, which points to a time when the young warrior, accompanied by his "best men," proceeded to carry off his bride from the encampment of a neighbouring tribe, whose attempt at resistance and rescue may be still symbolised in modern Europe by the throwing of shoes, often practised there at the present day. Among the ancient Turks, habitual slave-hunters, the practice must have been customary; and, when their habits became settled, it is to be supposed that the acquisition of wives elsewhere than in the tribe would still continue. Under the impulse so derived, much mixture of blood occurred, often greatly to the advantage of the Turks, who may have acquired in this way their handsome forms and features, and also the civilised habits of which they were so much in need.* Akbar's mother had been a Persian; and, although—probably under the diametrically opposite influence of Islam—he took a Turkish lady of his own family for his first wife, the desire for foreign wives became very strong. Besides the daughter of the raja just mentioned, the emperor, at different periods of his reign, also took to wife an Armenian lady, and a Princess of Marwar. No attempt seems to have ever been made to interfere with the religious belief of these inmates of the imperial *Zanana*.

About this time occurred the first of those cam-

* *Vide* Sup. chap. i.

paigns in the south-west, by which Akbar ultimately consolidated his Empire on the Nerbudda river, and opened a communication with the Indian Ocean, with the Holy Places, and with Europe. The command was entrusted to Adham Khán, the son of "the pattern of chastity," Máham 'Anka, by what father is unluckily not known. The country of Malwa was then in the hands of an adventurer named Báz Bahádur, and his capital was at Sárangpur, on the Káli Sindh river, about midway between Goona and Mhow. The imperial general was successful, but his triumph was stained by the violence offered to the poetess Rup Mati, whose suicide entitles her to the character of the Lucretia of Málwa. Not content with this, Adham Khán appropriated two other ladies of Báz Bahádur's family. The emperor heard of it, and ordered them to be taken from him; but the mother, Máham 'Anka, had the barbarity and insolence to kill the innocent girls lest they should make known the ill-treatment they had met with from her son. This event greatly displeased the young sovereign, who, though he did not punish the offence of his friends, issued orders that no prisoners of war should in future be made slaves. "For though," says Abul Fuzl, in mentioning this edict, "the chastisement and suppression of rebels is one of the duties of rulers, . . . yet the persecution of their innocent wives and children is unlawful." About the same time other orders were issued remitting the hateful *jizya*, or poll-tax on Hindus, and also the tax that had hitherto been levied on them when going on pilgrimage to their various sacred spots. Thus was the young ruler already preparing an united Hindustan, and that

"peace among men of good-will," which was to have been one of the blessings of a milder creed than his own.

The repression of high-handed tyranny among the dominant class was a necessary step in this direction. After the misconduct of Adham Khán became known, he had received no further command, but had continued to reside at Agra. Brooding over his well-merited disgrace, he persuaded himself that it was due to the intervention of the husband of the emperor's wet-nurse, named Shamsuddin, *Atgáh* (or "the foster-father"). Adham consorting with other nobles who were jealous of the favour shown to this old family friend, was easily taught by them to plan his removal. One night, when the emperor had gone to bed, a number of the courtiers were sitting together in the palace-hall, when Adham entered violently with a train of Uzbek followers. All rose to salute him; but he struck the Atgáh, and turned with a scowl to the Uzbeks, by whom the outrage was completed. The victim staggered out into the courtyard of the palace, and fell down bleeding and dead at the gate of the emperor's quarters. As these were surrounded by a high wall, Adham was unable to enter; but he apparently meditated an attack upon the emperor himself, for he knocked violently at the door of the gateway. The emperor being roused, ran out in his dressing-gown, catching up, as he went, the sword of one of the sentries. "What is this, you son of a —— ?" cried Akbar, as he saw the bloody corpse, and the panting ruffian standing over it. "Hear me!" answered Adham, laying hold of the emperor's hand. The emperor struggled, and in the struggle lost his

sword; but his hand was freed, and he knocked Adham down with his clenched fist. At a signal which he gave, the culprit was forthwith carried up to the top of the wall and thrown to the ground twice, the second fall breaking his neck. His mother, hearing vaguely of a *fracas*, hastened over from Delhi, where she was then residing. On hearing the facts she bowed her head. "His Majesty has done well," she said; but her heart was broken. In little more than a month she died. Akbar buried mother and son in a tomb, which is still to be seen near the famous Kutb Minár of Delhi.

Other repressive measures against members of the immigrant aristocracy followed; and then the emperor, freed from all the ties with which his birth had bound him, found himself, now in his twenty-second year, alone with his destiny and the demon in his own breast. It must be allowed that he bore manfully that ordeal which awaits all high ambitions, and is most trying in proportion to their height. In 1564-5 he had to encounter another attack upon his life, perhaps stimulated by the old troublers; for he was shot with an arrow discharged from a college founded by Máham 'Anka at Dehli. This is the last instance we have of Akbar in danger from the hand of an assassin. He was not seriously hurt, and presently proceeded to Málwa, where he pacified the country; and on returning to Agra laid the foundation-stone of that fine red sandstone castle, which, still in perfect preservation, commands the passage of the Jumna from the Duáb towards Rajputána. The work was begun in 1565, being entrusted to Kásim Khán, the head of the navy, and it was completed in eight

years. An account of the interior of Akbar's fort will be found in Purchas's "Pilgrims"; the existing disposition having been the result of changes introduced by Sháhjahán. The same year is noticeable for the first appearance in Akbar's service of Todar Mal, to whose subsequent revenue administration is due much of the civil glory of the reign. This distinguished statesman was of the *Khatri* caste, a tribe of great consideration in the Panjab, where he was born about the time of Bábar's invasion. Originally in the service of Sher Sháh, he had imbibed that ruler's wise policy of benevolent assiduity; and being transferred into the office of Akbar's first finance minister, Muzafur Khán, he aided that officer in revising the hasty revenue arrangements of the late Bairám Khán.

The first very important expedition in which Akbar personally exercised the command was directed in 1567 against Chitor, then the capital of the country, now known as Udaipur; and it was while thus engaged that another of the great men of the time was first introduced to his service. This was the well-known poet, Shekh Faizi, the elder brother of the still more celebrated Abul Fuzl, the favourite friend and admiring biographer of the emperor. Their grandfather was a man of Arab descent, who came from Seistan and settled at Nagore. During the reign of Humáyun their father, Shekh Mubárak, removed to Agra. His religious opinions were unsettled; but he was a learned man, who gave his sons the best education that the time and place afforded. From this time Faizi was regularly attached to the court, holding the nominal command of "Four Hundred," and the post (also titular) of "King of the Poets."

Chitor was taken, and the Rajputs performed their horrible national rite of *johar*. In Tod's enthusiastic description it is difficult to realise the hard facts of the case; but there is no doubt that the slaughter and havoc of the sack were equal to the obstinacy of the resistance. The town has never recovered itself; but Akbar lived to conquer the Rajputs in a milder way than the destruction of their towns.

In 1568-9 was begun the extraordinary group of buildings which still attracts so many visitors to Fathipur-Sikri: and that place, about two and twenty miles from Agra, long continued to be Akbar's favourite residence. It is noticeable here as the birth-place of the heir-apparent. Salim, who ultimately succeeded and reigned under the title of Jahángir, was born in the house of Shekh Salim, still shown at the back of the great mosque, on 30th or 31st of August, 1570.

The next event of importance connected with the formation of Akbar's character and career was the commencement of his intercourse with Europeans. This was probably begun, and subsequently stimulated, by the occupation of the sea-board of Gujarát, which occurred about this time; and henceforth the presence of Europeans at court is frequently mentioned, and the effects are manifest in several ways. The art of painting was much affected by it. There are still at Fathipur the dim remains of a picture of the Annunciation, and Manrique saw a Madonna in the gateway of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. Sculpture, too, acquired a Christian character, as may be seen by the marble statue of the Virgin now in the portico of the Agra Bank. Invocations to the founder of Christianity are

cited by Badaoni, and F. F. Firmilian and Aquaviva are mentioned by name. The smoking of tobacco* also was introduced by these travellers—than which no greater social change ever occurred in the unchanging East. The orthodox were much opposed to this last-named novelty, and some rigorous Sáyids are still against it. But Akbar, with his customary liberality, ordered that a fair trial should be made of the alleged virtues of the plant; "for," said he, "all the good things we have must have been new once." He smoked a pipe himself; but it did not please him, for he did not repeat the experiment in his own person.

Raja Todar Mal was sent to appraise the assets and limit the demand of government in the province of Gujarát in 1574-5, during which years the court was chiefly at Fathipur, where the works on the new palace proceeded rapidly. The emperor continued to make visits to Ajmere; and we are assured that on these and on all his other progresses, he adopted the strictest precautions to reduce to a minimum the trouble given to the cultivators, through whose lands his camp passed. *Yasáwuls* (lictors) were stationed round the encamping-grounds to protect the fields from spoliation; and trustworthy officers, with money in their hands, went along examining claims and awarding compensation.

It would be difficult to convey to those who have not seen it an adequate idea of the palace at Fathipur-Sikri It is, like Versailles and the Escorial, the country-house of a great monarch; but it is unlike these residences in having no overpowering grandeur of design, unless we except the part dedicated to

* See final note.

religion. This consists of a quadrangle, raised upon the rock and bounded by cloisters, of which the south wall is some seventy feet from foot to parapet. On a flight of lofty steps stands the main gateway, towering to a height of one hundred and thirty feet. This opens on the quadrangle, nearly eighteen thousand square yards in area, and paved with flagstones. On the west is the great mosque, accounted by Finch "the goodliest of the East," and still among the three or four finest. The remainder of the buildings cover the rest of the rock, about three hundred and fifty thousand square yards, in an irregular trapezium, and including a variety of structures more or less decayed, and of which the uses are in most cases obscure. It is, however, evident that when a vast lake spread on the north, and a green and wooded park on the east, while the summit glittered with marble turrets, red galleries, and enamelled roofs—when the courtyards were copiously watered and hung with gorgeous awnings—when the baths of painted stucco, the chiselled dwellings, the porticoes glowing with gilding and fresco, were all in full throng and pomp, the general effect could hardly have been much inferior to that of the grandiose edifices with which it has been compared.

It is in this framework that we ought to try to see the form of Akbar, when, on his return from his successful campaign in Bengal (A.D. 1575), Faizi presented his brother, Abul Fuzl, then about eighteen years of age, destined as time advanced, to influence the character of the emperor, as well as to perpetuate to all succeeding ages "Institutes" which must be regarded as their joint work. About this time the emperor had built in the northern side of

the palace courts, that curious building now known as the *Diwán-i-Khás* (*vide* Max Müller's "Science of Religion," p. 83). From the floor rises a short thick stone-pillar, the capital of which—supported on deep pendentives—branches into four pathways, each leading to a gallery. One of these was set apart for each class of religionists, and every Thursday night discussions took place while the emperor sat in the middle where all the paths met, or passed along them from one school to another. It went ill then with the *Ulamás*, those licensed Scribes and Pharisees of the court. Unaccustomed to contradiction, they wrangled and even resorted to blows till the evident disgust of the emperor prepared their fall. Charges of corruption, extortion, and tyranny arose on all sides, into which Akbar held personal enquiries. He also proved their bigotry and narrow-mindedness by searching questions on points of life and morals. Discomfited alike in casuistry and in practice these clerical lawyers gradually lost both their influence and their posts. About this time (1575) the Western Turks obtained great successes in Persia, and the Shia King of that country was murdered and succeeded by a Sunni. Accordingly a number of heretical teachers from the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, were driven to take refuge in India, and their conversation still farther disturbed the orthodoxy of the active-minded emperor, already so much shaken. In the following [illegible] the *Kalma* (Mussulman doxology) disap[illegible] the coins of the empire, replaced by a formu[illegible]cing his Majesty's names, *Jaláluddin Akbar*.

This event (1577) marks a distinct ep[illegible]. The laws of Islam were not formally [illegible]nced for three

years more; but this, the twenty-first year, is the conclusion of the first period into which the reign has been divided.

Akbar was now in apogee. All rival rulers had been conquered or consolidated, all turbulent barons had been suppressed, and the emperor was absolute, for good or for evil, in the wide tracts and over the varied populations of an empire extending from the cliffs of the Nerbudda to the banks of the Oxus, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Indian Ocean. Todar Mal was the *Vazir;* the supreme command of the army was entrusted to Mirza Abd-ur-rahím, son of the late Bairám, Akbar thus showing that he bore in mind the merits rather than the faults of the departed. The young man had indeed been brought up in the royal household, and for several years past had given proofs of skill and daring. It cannot be too often mentioned, as some set off to the faults of the Chughtai Turks, that no man among them ever owed his advancement merely to his birth, though that circumstance may have had its influence in affording opportunity. Abd-ur-rahím had won many battles, in Gujarát and elsewhere, before attaining the rank which he now held. He had also found time to translate Bábar's "Memoirs" from the Chughtai, in which they were originally written.

But a higher ambition than that of mere material sovereignty was rising in the emperor's breast. He desired to be the leader of men's opinions also. Not by force [illegible]one was ever persecuted during his reign for m[illegible]n, and many of his friends maintained their [illegible] convictions without losing favour—but becau[illegible] knew that he saw clearer than most men

into the conditions of spiritual well-being, and desired to impart his freedom to others; a generous dream! Abul Fuzl was at hand, with his strange mixture of imagination, good sense and wit, to minister to this desire. In 1579 the question was openly mooted at the Thursday* evening meetings. European readers can imagine it by thinking of the somewhat similar movement then going on in England, by which the sovereign became supreme head of the Church; only the Indian attempt was higher and less purely political. "Thus," sneers the orthodox Budaoni, "a faith based on some elementary principles, traced itself on the mirror of his Majesty's heart . . . the conviction that there were sensible men in all religions, moderate thinkers and men with miraculous powers among all nations." And it became his object to spread such a belief. His large charity as a man was warmed and kindled by his enthusiasm as the father of an alien people—

"On learning further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, he began to look upon them with affection . . . The differences among the Moslem doctors . . . furnished his Majesty with another reason for apostacy . . . Learned monks came from Europe, bringing the gospel . . . His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion . . . and charged Abul Fuzl to translate the New Testament . . . Birbal impressed upon the emperor that the sun was the primary origin of everything . . . Fire-worshippers also had come from . . . Gujarát, and proved to his Majesty the truth of the Zoroastrian doctrine . . . who ordered Abul Fuzl to arrange that sacred fire should be kept burning night and day after the manner of the ancient Kings of Persia."

At last, in September, 1589, appeared a covenant

* So Blochmann; but Abul Fuzl says "Friday," which is perhaps more likely, as Friday is the Moslem Sabbath.

intended to reconcile these various tenets in an eclectic faith, of which the emperor should be High Priest and controlling authority. Swayed, no doubt, by years of ridicule and by the hope of future peace, many of the learned and highly placed Mussulman doctors signed this strange document—unique, says Professor Blochmann, in the "History of the Mohamadan Church"—of which the purport is abstracted in "Dowson" (vol v. p. 382)—

"We have decreed and do decree that the rank of a JUST RULER is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Chief of the Law*. Farther we declare that the Sultan of Islám, &c. &c., ABU 'L FATH JALÁLU 'D DIN MOHAMAD AKBAR, PADSHAH GHÁZI, is a most just, wise, and pious king. Therefore, if there be a variance among the doctors upon religious questions, and his Majesty . . . should give his decree for the benefit of mankind . . . we do hereby agree that such decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation. Further, we declare that, should his Majesty, in his wisdom, issue an order (not being in opposition to the Korán) for the benefit of the people, it shall be binding and imperative on everyone; opposition to it being punished with damnation in the world to come, excommunication and ruin in the present life." *

In spite of the traces of compromise, the compliments to Islam, which linger in the text and preamble (not given above) one sees that this was the covenant of a new creed. In pursuance of it the emperor proceeded in state to the great Mosque of Fathipur already mentioned, and mounted the pulpit for the purpose of conducting the service. The inaugural hymn, composed for the purpose by Faizi, was to the following effect:—

"The Lord to me the kingdom gave,
He made me wise, and strong, and brave,

* Blochmann's "Ain Akbari," vol. i. p. 186.

He girdeth me in right and ruth,
Filling my mind with love of truth;
No praise of man can sum his state—
Alláhu Akbar!—God is great."

But the emotions aroused by the scene were too much for the overstrung nerves that never flinched before the enemy. The heart that had been calm in every danger now beat too fast; the voice that rang above the din of battle now broke, like a girl's. The imperial apostle had to descend from his elevation before he had articulated the first three lines. The rest of the service was entrusted to the court chaplain.

The new system, called the Divine Faith, appears to have been a kind of eclectic monotheism. No complete summary of the tenets has been preserved; it probably contained more practice than doctrine. Even in Budaoni's pessimist account, one traces the germs of much social and political reform. All food was lawful, so that excess was avoided. Prostitution was licensed and taxed, seduction punished. Youthful marriage was forbidden, polygamy reproved. *Sati* (widow burning) could only take place by the undoubted and persistent desire of the victim. The *Hijra* era was discontinued, and official computations dated from the year of Akbar's accession; the solar year and months of the ancient Persians being restored to use. Strange to say, the new system found more favour among Moslems than among Hindus, although the prejudices of the latter were much deferred to. Out of eighteen recorded members of the elect, only one, Birbal, is a Hindu. The rest are poets, historians, and a few lawyers, all of the conquering class. Todar Mal and the emperor's brother-in-law, Raja Bhagwán

Dás, positively refused to join, but Akbar showed no resentment.

So long as the emperor lived, the results of his religion had some vitality, though its absolute profession was thus limited. It led to an indiscriminate employment of persons of all creeds and classes in the public service, regard being had only to their merits. This example is even stated to have spread to Persia. In 1587, fresh edicts were issued, among others one containing the rule, "One God, and one wife." Causes between Hindus were not to be taken before Moslem judges, but to be decided by pundits appointed for the purpose, who, no doubt, administered the Hindu law. In the following year Akbar tried to convert Mán Sinh, the nephew, adopted son, and successor of Raja Bhagwán Dás. The spirited rajput answered, "If joining your Majesty's school only means willingness to sacrifice life, I think I have already given sufficient proof that I am a faithful follower. But I am a Hindu; your Majesty does not ask me to become a Mussulman. I know of no third faith." The emperor pressed him no more. Other regulations continued to be issued, and converts made; the last notice of such things being in 1596.

Such, in a very concise statement, was Akbar's religious reformation. Those who are curious for further details, will find them in Professor Blochmann's very learned and laborious notes on the "Ain Akbari" (Calcutta, 1873).

Akbar had no parliament to register for future observance his articles of religion or the enactments of himself and his council. Nor was there any hierarchy or administrative machinery to whom the

working of the system could be bequeathed, as in a bureaucratic country. Consequently the best portion perished with him. The power of the church, however, broken as it was by his reforms, never recovered itself; but this was probably far from an unmixed gain. An arbitrary, bigoted, spiritual tyranny is what few will approve; but a blind physical tyranny is as bad; and, where one exists, it is probably better for the people that the other should exist too, to check its vagaries. There was never afterwards in India any limit to the power of the Crown, but the rebellion of the chiefs and their followers.

Akbar's other reforms are also described in the "Ain," or "Institutes," published by Abul Fuzl, in 1596-7, the forty-third year of the "Divine Era," or reign of the emperor. The most important part of them is that relating to the revenue; but there is scarcely any subject too minute to escape the notice of this combination of Boswell and Blackstone. Thus in the First Book, Abul Fuzl treats of the Household; the Treasury; the Mint; Statistics of Prices; the Arts of Peace and War; the rules for Elephants, Camels, Horses, and Oxen; regarding Etiquette, Flavours, and Perfumes; and, lastly, on Religion. In the Second Book is mention of Military Regulations, the Admiralty, and the Chase. Among all these are interspersed encomiastic anecdotes of his Majesty's sayings and doings, and recipes for cookery. The Third Book is devoted to the department of Finance; beginning with an account of the Computations of Time in use among various nations; then follow chapters on Tribute and Taxation, on Measurements of Land, and of the famous "Settlements" of the Land-revenue under

Todar Mal. The Fourth is a sort of Gazetteer of India and a treatise on various subjects of interest connected with its inhabitants. The Fifth is a collection of Akbar's teachings. The whole volume forms one of three devoted to the history of the empire and its ruler under the general title of "The Akbarnáma."

In the maturing of the "Divine Faith" and settlement of revenue, the second period of Akbar's reign—from the 21st to the 37th year—passed away. Birbal died in a fruitless campaign against the Yusafzais, in February, 1586, deeply lamented by his master, whose grief was intensified by suspense. The body was never found, and more than one pretender to Birbal's name disturbed the healing of Akbar's wound. Todar Mal died four years later, preserving his Hindu orthodoxy to the last. Next year was the 999th of the Moslem era; and that which followed closed the hopes of a millennium which were at the time widely entertained. In 1592 Abul Fuzl was promoted to the rank of a commander of two thousand horse, and took his place among the peers and lords of the council. In the same year his brother Faizi was sent as ambassador to the Deccan.

In 1593 the father of these two favourites, Shekh Mubarak, died at Lahore. All things now combined to announce the beginning of the end. The failure of millennial expectations; the comparative ill-success of the new creed; the death of some valued adherents, the absence or failing strength of others, all whispered to Akbar that, in the language of Sádi of Shiraz:—

"The world, oh my brother, remaineth to none."

Faizi died 5th October, 1595—barking like a dog

according to the austere Badaoni—but really weak and speechless. Akbar saw him at midnight; supporting his friend's head he said gently, "Shekh ji, here is a doctor, will you not speak to me?" One fancies the faint look of the closing eye, but no word escaped the lips; the emperor threw his head-dress on the ground and wept aloud. The gentle poet's literary remains were published two years after by his more energetic brother; the same year saw the completion of the "Akbarnáma." In 1597-8 Abul Fuzl went on active military service for the first time and acquitted himself well in every way, as a brave, loyal and incorruptible servant. When the King of Khándes, who was his brother-in-law, offered him rich gifts to procure his favour he refused them, saying gallantly, that the emperor's favour had extinguished in his mind all feelings of avarice. Next year he took the famous fort of Asirgarh; but on his return was waylaid, as he marched towards Agra with a small escort, and was murdered by a Hindu freebooter set on by the jealousy of Jahángir, the heir-apparent. This event occurred on the 12th August, 1602.

It was after the conquest of Khándes—which in honour of his son Danyal (or Dainel) the emperor called "Dándes"—that Akbar put up the well-known inscription on one of the jambs of the great gateway at Fathipur:—"H.M. the King of Kings, Heaven of the Court, Shadow of God, Jalál-ud-Din Mohamad, the Emperor. He conquered the Deccan and Dándes, which was formerly Khándes, in the *Ilahi* year 46, corresponding to the Hijra year 1010." After some self-praise the strain is modulated into the following pathetic minor: "Said Jesus (on whom be peace!)

The world is a bridge, pass over it but build no house there. He who hopes for an hour hopes for an eternity. The world is but an hour: spend it in devotion, the rest is unseen."

The emperor died four years after, and, perhaps, as his clouded end approached, his mind recalled that inscription, and he may have thought with little pride of the houses that he had built upon the short bridge of life.

And so ended the Round Table of Hindustan. The popularly believed story that Akbar died a convert to the tenets of that superstition which in the strength and health of his judgment he had deliberately rejected, is of no importance. Such things are commonly said of great reformers, and perhaps are sometimes true; but they prove nothing except the tenacity with which a failing mind may clutch at early impressions. But Professor Blochmann contradicts the story flatly.

The memoirs of Jahángir say nothing of such a change (excepting the spurious copy translated by Major Price), and no other contemporary writer, with whom I have any acquaintance, has a hint of such a thing.*

Akbar died on Tuesday, 27th October, 1605, conscious to the end, and to the end maintaining his statesmanship by sending for his ministers and publicly naming the crown prince as his successor, so as to obviate the dangers of civil war so liable to happen on a demise of the crown in countries under Turkish rule. He was in the 60th year of his age, the 47th of his reign.

Mr. Elphinstone has devoted great care and ear-

* See Blochmann's "Ain," p. 212; and Note.

nestness to the portraiture of Akbar; his estimate is high, and what has been recorded here confirms it. We have only now to give a very brief account of his administration, especially with reference to that branch, all-important in India, which deals with the assessment and collection of the revenue derived from land.

There is no subject round which experts have thrown such repulsive clouds of dulness as this. Yet, if the reader will bear in mind one or two very simple facts, it ought not to be either dry or difficult. Land, being regarded by primitive communities as one of the elements of nature, comes to be looked upon—by all but merely nomad tribes—as the common source of national wealth, and is not exposed to those forcible methods of appropriation which form the ultimate basis of personal ownership. A savage may use his bow and spear for the protection of his own dead game or his own live stock, but he cannot survey and fence off more land than that on which his hut may stand. The ruling power of the tribe or nation, therefore, generally undertakes two things: to guarantee the possession of the clearer or occupier, and to exact from him a return in the shape of a service or a portion of the produce in commutation. As society becomes more complicated, other interests and pursuits come into being, other sources of revenue are opened up; but it has not been so in the East; and theory and practice have still continued to coincide in treating the occupant as the tenant of the whole community. A monarch may assign the State's interest in the surplus produce to a victorious commander—or perhaps to a favourite minion—but

the grant, even if declared in terms to be perpetual, is always treated as temporary, and is liable to resumption by the grantor's successor.

Sher Sháh first saw the importance of leaving a margin between the gross produce and the State's demand, which (upon the above stated principle) was theoretically without any limit but the expenses of cultivation. Trained under him, Todar Mal learned that this margin should be "settled" upon the person most interested in making the most of the land. He organised an office for the purpose, and he proceeded to make a singular political use of his department. Professor Blochmann has shown ("Calcutta Review," vol. lii., p. 320) that up to the middle of Akbar's reign rent rolls and accounts in the Hindu character were maintained by Hindus, and the argument by which Akbar defended the practice is given in the article. But when Todar was appointed finance minister, he issued orders that all revenue records should henceforth be kept in Persian. "He knew," observes the learned reviewer, "that notwithstanding the generous policy inaugurated by his master, the Hindus could not long maintain a successful competition with the conquering class unless they became proficients in their language."

Hence, too, it came to pass that Abul Fuzl was able to give a complete account of the revenue system, together with detailed rent-rolls of all the provinces, for the benefit of Persian readers. The following is the upshot of what he records :—

A fixed standard of mensuration having been provided, the land was surveyed and classified, according to whether it was waste, fallow, or cropped. The last

f assessment—that which pro-
r oil seeds, paying one-third of
o the State, while two-thirds were
nt. But Akbar had endeavoured
yments among his establishments :
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as a complete departure from the
it made no difference between the
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hould be taken than what had been

ifference between this system and
is that the latter do not found
e productive power of the cultur-
ut on an assumed valuation of
the coming thirty years, thus
Todar Mal seems to have got
in a more rational manner

instructive to remark how Akbar,
ecessor, whom he copied, resembled
two principles of *unity of interest*
stem. While every other Moslem
had drawn distinctions of creed
have not been entirely avoided
tish successors), these two alone
t efforts to welding all their subject
whole. While almost every other
built his own capital city, and carried
own policy of administration, these
eir predecessors had lived and main-

tained their institutions, [illegible]
contented if they could [illegible]
or abandoning, what they received [illegible]
gone before.

Akbar, it has been observed, mad[e]
pay his establishments in coin. Th[e]
gives rates of pay for almost every
simple musketeer or archer. Some of
no doubt, were paid, wholly or in pa[rt]
assignments which they had a di[s]
diverting to their own private pu[rse]
Mohamadan history shows that there [was]
this period a constant tendency to de[crease]
tingents, and consequently their fiefs, [and]
proportionately the Imperial forces, [which]
paid in specie, and formed the nucleus
army (*vide* Blochmann's "Ain," p. 2[38]

The "*Hazári*," or "commander o[f]
was "the Baron," or lowest peer
expected to keep up more than t[wo]
fifty troopers. The standing army
two hundred thousand, the horses
another institution taken from Sher S[hah]

The *jizia*, or capitation-tax on "u[nbelievers]"
a tribute leviable in Mohamadan conq[uests]
of the people who refused to embr[ace]
Islam. Some of the Pathan kings
stint or limit; but it was entirely abo[lished]
soon after Bairám's fall, and not ag[ain]
the twenty-second year of Aurangzeb
to have been levied in the form of a
the rate of six and a-half in the tho[usand]

* *Vide* Elliott's "Glossary," in *vo*

Ratan Chand, a Hindu, became
the reign of Mohamad Sháh,
kbar remitted fifty-seven other

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utta Review," already quoted:—
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g people of the country. When
to exceptional favour they remon-
against his being appointed finance
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was the answer. 'Very well,' said
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e my estates.'"
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have ever since continued to hold
ion of the ministerial posts in which
To the higher posts they have not
ly admitted; but the time cannot be
gracious promise made by her Majesty
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The "*Hazári*," or "commander of [illegible]," was "the Baron," or lowest peer. [illegible] not expected to keep up more than two [illegible] and fifty troopers. The standing army was esti[illegible] at two hundred thousand, the horses being b[illegible]—another institution taken from Sher Sh[illegible].

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danger to their class from the competition of the
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minister. The emperor, with his usual good temper,
merely asked in reply, 'Who managed the estates of
the nobles who were addressing him?' 'Sir, our
Hindu stewards,' was the answer. 'Very well,' said
Akbar, 'then please allow me, too, to employ a Hindu
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not extend south of the Nerbudda—are
Lact to have amounted to seventeen

millions and a-half sterling, and
approval of Mr. Thomas.* This
and with reference to the purchas
very large. The American bullion
yet found its way to India in any
and the prices that have come down
writings of the day are enough to
skilled labour was paid a little over a
musketeer—the most skilful kind of
was paid little more than double.
Fuzl, wheat sold at the rate of, say, sixpence
barley and millet were still cheaper;
could be bought for three shillings;
half-pence a pound. The revenue was
lected in half-pence ("Thomas ut sup.,")
of it was laid out in the administration and
Akbar was free from the Turkish vices
ness and accumulation. In regard to
generally, enough has been shown in
give the means of forming a pretty
It is only necessary to add that he was
continent, observing days of fasting and
prescribed by himself; recklessly brave,
example, several times encountered
only armed with a sabre.
large of limb, with a complexion that
even to Europeans.

In his artistic tastes he showed the
as in everything else. He studied the
the country and assisted in the translation
Sanscrit texts. In his buildings he

* "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire

genious design and practice, and made of special Saracenic features, like e.

o build for himself a mausoleum in Bihishtabád, near the old Lodi Palace of miles up the Dehli road. Here he vault 38 feet square; and round placed the armour, raiment, and books eased had been wont to use, ready to hand time should come for him to rise. A covering has been placed over this tomb in by the graceful munificence of a British Lord Northbrook. The mausoleum—which repair by the British Government—is a nd splendid product of Mughal art; but letion belongs to the next reign. Finch, an traveller of that time, says that the tomb was hipped both by Moors and Gentiles, all for a great saint."

emains to add that the authorities for the have been found in Professor Dowson's edition of Elliot's "Mohamadan Historians," compared with the originals; and above ssor Blochmann's translation of the "Ain he notes to which are a monument of d judgment.

Asad Beg, a Kazwini Turk, who wrote an account of his adventures the death of Abul Fuzl, relates the first introduction of tobacco-kbar's court.

red a handsome pipe . . . the stem . . . was three cubits in length, ied and coloured, both ends being adorned with jewels and enamel. come across a very handsome mouthpiece of Yaman cornelian, which I set on the stem; the whole very handsome . . . I filled a fine tobacco. I arranged all nicely on a silver tray. I had a e for the stem, and it was covered (or lined) with purple velvet.

His Majesty was asking me how I had collected so many [illegible] a time, when his eye fell upon the bag containing the pipe . [illegible] what it was and where I had got it. The Nawáb Khán Azam s[illegible] a well known drug, which this learned man has brought f[illegible]'s use.' His Majesty ordered me to prepare a pipe for him, and be[illegible] it, when his physician came up and forbade him. His Majesty sa[illegible] try it to please me. After a few whiffs he handed it to Khán Az[illegible] likewise. He asked his druggist what were the peculiar qualities of the [illegible] answered that it was not mentioned in his books, being a new inventio[illegible] Europe[illegible] doctors praised it. The physician objecting that it was a [illegible] novelty, I replied, 'The Europeans are no fools, their wise men seldom [illegible] mistake. Try a thing first before you condemn it, and let us decide [illegible] to fac[illegible]. The doctor answered, 'We do not need to take our customs from the Europeans.' I replied, 'Every custom in the world has been new in its time.' . . . When [illegible] Emperor heard my arguments he was surprised. He gave me his blessing, [illegible] said to Khán Azam, 'Do you hear Asad's wise speech? It is true that we [illegible] not reject a thing that has been adopted by wise men of other nations [illegible] because it is not in our books, or how shall we progress?'"

Akbar, after due trial, did not adopt the use of the pipe; but the [illegible] worth attention as a sample of his candid nature. Many of the courtiers [illegible] up; and thus it was introduced into India, a habit which has done [illegible] solace of the masses than any they have ever learned.

Akbar was led, by his position as a conqueror, to give most of [illegible] employments to his Turkish and Persian followers. But he never [illegible] natives from any office, how high soever. Thus, Todar Mal was [illegible] peror himself, the first man in the State, combining the directio[illegible] with the general control of the whole civil administration as va[illegible] Bhagwán Das, Mán Sinh, and Birbal commanded armies. In [illegible] grade, "five thousand," there were two Hindus out of thirty, in [illegible] four thousand" two out of nine; in that of "three thousand," out of seventeen grandees eight were natives; of the entire official peerage [illegible] were Hindus, besides Hindustani Mussulmans. The policy became constitutional, and the *libro d'oro* of Sháhjahán shows that the number of Hindu officials had nearly doubled in his time.* The notion of confining power and rank entirely to members of the conquering class never entered the minds of these rulers. In Aurangzeb's reversal of the policy—fatal as it may have been—we only [illegible] conduct of a man blinded by religious pedantry. It was not as natives of [illegible] that he excluded Hindus, but as followers of what to him seemed a blasphe[illegible] and puerile superstition. Even under Aurangzeb, Jai Sinh I. held the hi[illegible] offices, military and civil, until his death in A.D. 1667.

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* Mahabat, the great general of Sháhjahán (and the De Mo[illegible] father) was of Cabuli origin, but with Hindustani affinities and a[illegible] that Tod thought that he was a Rajput.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHARACTER OF JAHÁNGIR.

PROFESSOR BLOCHMANN in 1869 contributed to the "Calcutta Review" a very valuable article on the character of Jahángir, and some connected topics, in which he abstracted the result of an exhaustive bulk of learned information. He drew but an unflattering picture of the fourth emperor of the house of Taimur. The "Memoirs of Jahángir," says the professor, "do not contain one grand thought—not a trace that the author ever realized his exalted position. Of all Mohamadan rulers Akbar best understood his duties as a ruler. During his reign feuds were healed, distrusts minimized, and the ideas of patriotism raised into influence. Akbar believed that he had a sacred mission, and was responsible to God for the manner in which he exercised it. In order to perform the duties of this mission, the ruler, he felt, must enter into every detail of his government." (Sher Sháh had laid down the same rule). "Every minute spent in comprehending small things is a minute spent in the service of God." Jahángir was the very reverse of all this in his theory and practice, and the

leading idea of his "Memoirs" is that details are derogatory to the royal dignity. Sháhjahán, to the benefit of the empire, returned to Akbar's mode of ruling by the mastery of details; and hence the prosperity of the country reached under Sháhjahán "a point to which it never before, nor ever afterwards, attained under a Mughal emperor."

It is not strange that Jahángir should compare unfavourably with Akbar. Most rulers would. It is rather the likeness that is puzzling. Jahángir resembled his father in a hundred ways. Only one feels in passing from the reign of Akbar to that of his son as if the curtain had risen for a burlesque after the drama. Jahángir is a comic Akbar, reproducing his father's features in the form of a caricature. In him indulgence became negligence, and reform ran riot. Eclecticism in religion, instead of growing into a practical system of belief and practice, took the shape of a successive acquiescence in each creed, one by one. And when the follies of this lord of misrule brought their natural fruits into existence, his notion of repression showed itself in barbarous and grotesque sentences.

That Jahángir should have been such a zany strikes one as a drawback from the greatness of Akbar. Something he may have owed to the peculiarities in the character that he inherited from his Hindu mother, or in the training (or no training) that he received from her. But his son, Sháhjahán, also had a Hindu mother, and he was able and dignified. Akbar must have chosen his son's tutors ill.

There is also reason to suppose that he himself did something to spoil his heir. Jahángir—or Salim

—was the child of miracle. Tradition relates that the daughter of Amber was childless, and that Akbar, on his pilgrimage to Ajmir in the fourteenth year of his reign, left her in charge of Shekh Salim, the hermit of Fathipur—where as yet no palace was—and that the child was born in the house of the holy man, and in answer to his prayers. He was named Salim, after his godfather; and his royal father gave him the pet name of Shekhu Bábá. His wet nurse was the wife of the saint's son. Born and nursed in these surroundings, it is not strange if the boy grew up wilful, superstitious, and ignorant of the world. It does not appear to have fared better with either of his brothers; at least, both died of *delirium tremens* during their father's lifetime. Jahángir also for many years indulged immoderately in wine; but, whether it was that his strength was greater, or that the opium which he likewise abused acted as an antidote, he lived to nearly the same age as his father, and died of asthma, having for some time reduced his habits of drinking within reasonable limits.

His accession was peaceful. When Akbar lay at the point of death, there was but one prince of the blood likely to give trouble, namely—Sultán Khusru, Salim's eldest son. Salim himself had long given his own august father signs of scant love and honour, and had lately caused the death of his justly esteemed companion of many great and happy years, Abul Fuzl. But the emperor knew better than to yield at such a moment to indignation that might fall upon his people. He publicly named Salim, his heir, three years before his death; * after this Salim returned to

* *Vide* Note in fin.

Allahabad—where he was Governor of the *Subah* or province, and whence he had gone to Agra at the summons of the emperor—and there he passed some time corresponding respectfully with his father. But he continued his irregular conduct, indulging in excessive drinking, and embezzling the revenues. About this time, Salim's wife—the sister of the celebrated Amber chief, Mán Sinh—took poison while her husband was out shooting. She appears to have been an excitable, half-crazy creature, who was distracted by the family quarrels; for not only was her husband at variance with his father, but still more with his son Khusru, whose mother the unhappy lady was. This event did not improve Salim's temper; on the contrary, Inayut Ullah, the continuator of "Akbarnáma," says that he became so furious that people in his presence were struck dumb with terror. The aged emperor therefore determined to visit his wayward son, and set off for Allahabad for the purpose. But his own mother—who had always mediated between the two—died at this juncture, and Akbar returned to the capital which he never left more. Salim hearing bad accounts of his father's sinking health, hurried to Agra. Mán Sinh tried in vain to organise an *émeute* in favour of Khusru, and Akbar died, after an illness of three weeks, having once more acknowledged Salim as the successor to his throne, which he accordingly ascended (under the title of Mohamad Nur-ud-Din Jahángir) on the 13th October, 1605.

A most interesting account of the intrigues of the time, and of the overthrow of Mán Sinh's attempt by an appeal to the just feelings of the Turkish nobility

has been preserved by Asad Beg,* and will be found in Dowson's "Elliot," vol. vi., p. 169, f.f. The chiefs were collected in the ante-room while the emperor was breathing his last. Mán Sinh presided. "The emperor does not really love Sultan Salim," he said, "let us all agree to place Khusru upon the throne!" But an illustrious Mughal named Sáyid Khán, connected by birth with the imperial house, replied hotly, "What is this that the heir should be passed over in favour of his son? This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chughtai Tátárs, and shall never be." Having thus pronounced himself he left the meeting, joined by those who were of his opinion, and the rest of the assembly dispersed without agreeing to anything. Mán Sinh and Khusru fled that night, and Salim visiting his father's bedside was invested with the imperial purple by orders of the dying emperor.

The subsequent revolt of Khusru, and the cruel punishment of his followers, while he and Mán Sinh were forgiven, are matters of history. We need only pause to note that the hereditary clemency of the house of Taimur, shown on this, as on so many occasions, was confined to the higher classes of offenders, and was not usually practised towards the poor. We see the like in mediæval Europe.

In Jahángir, good nature and mercy were not absent, but they were like all his qualities, fitful and odd in their exercise; hence he had that worst quality of a despot, an arbitrariness on which his subjects could not depend. He was also often unscrupulous in compassing his ends. The way in which he quenched the light of his father's reign, by causing

* *Vide* Note to last Chapter.

the murder of the good and able Abul Fuzl, he admits in his written confessions. The motives by which he was led to cause the death of Sher Afkan, whose wife he afterwards married, have been usually considered equally clear and equally wicked; but they do not, in this case, rest upon quite as good testimony. It is certain that Sher Afkan was killed in a tumult in which the Governor was also slain, but the details vary. As it is usually believed that Jahángir deliberately caused Sher Afkan to be assassinated, in order that he might possess his wife, the following contemporary account, abstracted from the narratives of Mohamad Hádi and Mutamad Khán,* may be fairly consulted. Mr. Dowson calls the latter "a valuable history." The removal of a political foe is, in many states of society, regarded as venial; but even in the east, it has always been considered discreditable to kill a man in order to obtain his wife; and it is to be observed that neither Jahángir nor any of his contemporaries admit that he did so.

Sher Afkan, then, was an Istajlu Turk, originally named Ali Kuli, who had passed into the service of the Taimurides from that of Sháh Ismail of Persia. He obtained a command under Akbar, and the hand of the daughter of Mirza Ghiás-ud-Din, of Teheran, who was high in the civil service of the same monarch, and eventually became the prime minister of Jahángir with the title of Itimád-ud-Daula. Sher Afkan, in Akbar's days, was a comrade of the heir apparent,

* Mutamad Khán, the author of the "Ikbálmama," was a high official during the reign, but his work was written after the emperor's death; thus, though a contemporary, he may be considered impartial. Hádi, though a later writer, wrote from contemporary sources.

who obtained for him the district of Bardwán, in Bengal, where he still was, when Jahángir succeeded to the throne. In the second year of his reign, Jahángir received unfavourable accounts of his *protégé*, and on sending a viceroy to the eastern provinces took the opportunity of recommending him to ascertain the facts, and if he found Sher Afkan insubordinate to send him to court. This new viceroy was one Shekh Khubu, a son-in-law of the late Shekh Salim Chisti, of Fathipur, and foster-brother to the emperor; his title was Kutb-ud-Din. On taking charge of his government, Kutb heard confirmation of the bad accounts of Sher Afkan, and sent for him to explain them. Sher Afkan refused to obey the summons, on which the viceroy proceeded in person to enforce his mandate. He reached Bardwán and went at once to the house. In front he was met by the recusant officer, armed and mounted. Leaving their attendants, the chiefs met to parley; suddenly, Sher Afkan was seen to draw his sword and run the *subahdár* through the body; the followers of the latter then charged, and Sher Afkan was cut down. His family were sent to court, and the widow remained there four years, a guest in the apartments of the empress dowager, a lady of the house of Taimur, named Sultána Rukya Begam.

"On a New Year's Day festival, she attracted the desire and affection of the emperor, and was soon made the favourite consort . . . by the title of Nur Jahán Begam . . . for some time she sat in the *jharokha* (balcony), where the officers came to receive her orders. Coins were struck in her name, and the seal on imperial patents bore it also. By degrees she became supreme in the empire; the emperor used to say that she was capable of conducting all affairs, and that all he wanted was a joint and a bottle

to keep himself merry."—(Mohamad Hádi,* "Wakiát-i-Jahángiri," *vide* "Dowson," vol. vi., p. 398.)

These are the facts as stated by the best authorities; let those who please give them an uncharitable interpretation. In any case no conclusion unfavourable to Nur Jahán can be fairly drawn from them. If the emperor had loved her before her husband's death, her four years' widowhood shows that she was in no hurry to benefit by that occurrence; if the delay was only due to her not having attracted the emperor's admiration before, then the whole supposed crime must be a pure invention. Certain it is that she was in other respects an ornament to her high position. "In her hour of greatness she won," says Hádi, "golden opinions from all sorts of people, being just and beneficent to all. She is supposed to have provided out of her private purse, dowries for the marriage of as many as five hundred portionless damsels. She likewise brought forward in the public service her very able brother, Asaf Khán, and also the brilliant Pathan general, Mohabat Khán, by both of whom, however, her patronage was but ill-requited." †

The emperor himself, though weak and debauched, is yet by no means a figure without interest. On the contrary, it is "a touch of nature," when we find this remote despot so very human. His own *naif* confessions are to be found in various forms, and an essay

* Hádi was not a contemporary; he edited and completed the "Memoirs of Jahángir" a hundred years after they were written. He was old enough at that time to have conversed with some of Jahángir's contemporaries.

† Nur Jahán, when the emperor married her, had reached the mature age of thirty-four. That she should have maintained her influence to the end of the life of her husband, shows that he had the power of appreciating charms that were not wholly physical.

upon the most correct and complete text is given in Professor Dowson's sixth volume, beginning at page 276. As reference has been made by several writers to an old translation by Major Price, it may be as well to mention here that the professor, with the concurrence of Sir H. Elliot, looks upon that version as spurious. The original work is described as "a plain and ingenious record of all that its author deemed worthy of note. . . . Assuming that Jahángir is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candour, and a perusal of this work alone would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents. Like his father he was fond of jewels, and estimated their value as a true connoisseur. He was a mighty hunter, and took pleasure in sport, even in the later years of his life. He was a lover of nature, both animate and inanimate, and viewed it with a shrewd and observant eye. He mentions the peculiarities of many animals and birds, and shows that he watched their habits with diligence and perseverance. Trees and fruits and flowers also come under his observation, and he gives his opinion upon architecture and gardening like one who has bestowed time and thought upon them."

No reason is known for doubting these "Memoirs" to be authentic. They were suppressed, as far as possible, in the time of Jahángir's son and successor, and attention seems to have been first drawn to them many years later by Mohamad Hádi. There is, besides the "Memoirs," another most valuable contemporaneous record of the state of Hindustan under

Jahángir, in the narrative of Captain Hawkins, an English mariner who visited India in this reign. We have also writings by other travellers, especially the narrative of "the great Elchi" of those days, Sir Thomas Roe, M.P.

Roe was one of those statesmen who seem the peculiar product of the climate and the social conditions of England. Accomplished and prudent, he was at the same time of the strictest honour, combining the wisdom of a later civilization with the chivalry of the middle ages. Knighted by James I. soon after that monarch came to England, he was presently selected to accompany Henry, Prince of Wales, in a voyage to the West Indies. In 1609 he had been to the shores of the Amazon, in 1614 we find him taking part in the debates of the House of Commons, and in the following year he was sent as Ambassador to the Court of Jahángir in order to further the objects of the East India Company, then in its infancy. Subsequently appointed British Envoy to the Sublime Porte, he remained for some years at Constantinople, and was afterwards also Ambassador at Vienna. The Queen of Bohemia called him her "honest Tom;" Gustavus Adolphus, "*strenuum consultatorem;*" the emperor said, "I scarce ever met with an ambassador before."

Such was the envoy chosen for the first mission to an Asiatic court that was undertaken by the nation destined to be the greatest of Asiatic Powers. An account of this mission will be found in "Elphinstone." Captain Hawkins was a less cultivated specimen of the Englishman of those days, and was, perhaps, on that account, a favourite with the "Bohemian" em-

peror; another, and a special recommendation, being his knowledge of the Turkish language. Hawkins had learned it in the Levant; and he found, to his own satisfaction, and that of his majesty, that the Chughtai form was near enough to permit of free intercourse between them; such, we may fancy, as an educated American Indian of the present day could hold with the residents of New York. Jahángir speaks distinctly of his own knowledge of Turkish, saying that he wrote some addenda to Bábar's "Wákiat;" for "although," he says, "I was brought up in Hindustan, I am not deficient in knowledge of Turki.* Hawkins died soon after his visit to Jahángir; his narrative is to be found in "Purchas."

From all these sources considerable knowledge of Jahángir is to be acquired, and the result will be a judgment perhaps milder than Professor Blochmann's, yet not altogether opposed to his. The emperor was, by nature, sensible, observant, and amicable; but his moral nature had been so neglected that he could neither control nor incite himself, and his occasional activity was as lawless and harmful as his habitual idleness and neglect were.

Of his good nature we have abundant proofs, besides the clemency that he showed to Mán Sinh and Khusru. It is thus that he notices the loss of his Hindu wife, the mother of the latter, sister of the former:—

"How can I record her excellence and goodness of disposition? She had a bright intellect, and her affection for me was such that she would have given a thousand sons or brothers as a ransom for one hair of mine. She often wrote to Khusru urging upon him

* In 1638 Mandelslo found Turkish still the Court language.

proofs of my love and kindness; but in vain. And then, seeing to what lengths he was going, her Rajput pride was wounded, and she set her heart on death."

He gives the date of her death, caused, he says, by opium taken in a temporary fit of insanity, and adds, pathetically, "She was my first bride, and the wife of my youth."

After this, the undutiful Khusru was detected in a conspiracy for his father's assassination. The unhappy but easy Jahángir spared him once more. This was in the second year of the reign. On the first day of the third the emperor went to his father's tomb at Sikandra; he performed the pilgrimage on foot (a distance of about five miles). "Would," he cried, "that I could have gone there on my head!" During the course of the same year he repeated the visit. He disapproved of what had been built. During his absence in the expedition against Khusru, the builders had followed their own fancy, and had departed from the original design. The work had been in hand over three years, so that it must have been begun in Akbar's lifetime. The money allowed for it had been all spent. Jahángir pointed out all the parts that he disliked, and had them taken down. The tomb was then rebuilt on a grand scale, with a garden and a great gateway, as we see it now, under the emperor's personal directions. The work, according to the "Sháhjahánnama," took twenty years to complete. Hawkins, who came to Agra in 1609, said it had been already fourteen years in hand, which appears an exaggeration. Hawkins was received with great favour. He was admitted to close intercourse with the emperor, invested with a title and stipend, and finally offered

"a white maiden from the palace" if he chose to marry and settle in India; and to such an extent did the favour to Christians rise, that some of the princes of the blood were publicly baptized in the church at Agra, going there in procession, "escorted by all the resident Christians, to the number of sixty horse, Captain Hawkins being at their head with St. George's ensign carried before him in honour of England" —(Finch).

No picture of Jahángir would be complete without the wine-cup. In his youth, he tells us, he used to drink as much as six quarts of spirit in a day: "No one dared to expostulate with me . . . At last I sent for a doctor, and placed my case before him. With great kindness and interest he spoke to me without concealment, and told me that if I went on in this way, in six months my state would be beyond the hope of cure. His advice was good, and life is dear. From that day I began to decrease my allowance of liquor." Elsewhere he says that he got down to a pint a day; but now (*Æt. suæ* 47), took twelve grains of opium daily. From an account of his annual weighing we find that at this time he turned the scale at twelve stone four pounds.

It is at the same time that we are brought face to face with Jahángir by the narratives of Sir T. Roe and the Rev. E. Terry, his chaplain, an Oxford scholar, and a shrewd observer. Roe and his staff landed at Surat, and came up to Ajmere, where the court then was, by way of Burhánpur, Mándu, and Chitor. He waited on Jahángir on the 10th January, 1617, and was very respectfully, and, indeed, graciously treated. He thus describes the habits of the emperor:—

"He comes every morning to a window looking into a plain before his gate, and shows himself to the common people . . Under him, within a rail, attend the men of mark. . . At afternoon he sits in his durbar. At eight, after supper, he comes down to the *Ghusal Khána*, a fair court, wherein in the midst is a throne of free-stone (marble ?) whereon he sits. None are admitted but [men] of great quality, and few of these without leave, where he discourses of all matters with much affability. . . This course is unchangeable, except sickness or drink prevent it, which must be known; for as all his subjects are slaves, so is he in a kind of reciprocal bondage, for he is tied to obey these hours and customs so precisely, that if he were not seen one day, and no sufficient cause rendered, the people would mutiny. . . On Tuesday he sits in judgment—never refusing the poorest man's complaint—where he hears with patience both sides."

On the 24th Roe had another interview. Jehángir seeing him in the crowd, called him up to the side of the throne. The commercial treaty which Roe desired was promised; but the ambassador remained three years in attendance before his task was accomplished. It is evident that there was no lack of good nature or goodwill on the part of Jahángir, but the heir-apparent was unfriendly—Nur Jahán and her brother were grasping, and thus the business became a sort of Penelope's web. On one occasion we have a scene—Roe remonstrating, and Asaf Khán trying to silence the interpreter: "but I held him, suffering him (Asaf) only to wink and make unprofitable signs. The king hereat grew suddenly into choler, pressing to know who had wronged us. . . . The king, hearing his son's name, conceived I had accused him, saying, '*Mio figlio, mio figlio!*' Asaf Khán trembled, and all of them were amazed. The king chid the prince roundly, and he excused himself." When the debate ended—and it had been

stormy—Jahángir rose; but as he did so, he called Roe to stand by him. On another occasion, about ten at night, the ambassador received a sudden summons after he had gone to bed: Jahángir sent to say that he had heard that Roe had a picture which had not been exhibited. The ambassador hastened to the presence, carrying with him the miniature, which was a portrait of a lady that he had loved and lost. Jahángir and his courtiers were drinking together when Roe entered; and on his producing the painting, was asked by the emperor to give it him. Roe at first demurred, but ended by offering the desired gift, and a curious scene ensued, in which the two vied with each other in generosity. The emperor asked in admiration if such a woman ever lived? "Yes," replied the ambassador, "only the picture does her no justice." "Well," said the emperor, "since you have so freely given me this, I will take it inside to the ladies and will have copies made. If, when you see them, you can pick out your own, you shall take it back." Roe said, "No; that he had indeed given the gift freely, and hoped it would not be returned;" but Jahángir stopped his protestations by declaring that he loved him the better for loving the remembrance of his friend. This is surely as charming an idyll, and as pretty a vignette of Eastern and Western chivalry as was ever conceived in fiction. One of the presents sent by James I. on this occasion, was a London-built coach, to which Jahángir thus alludes under 1616:—

"I marched in sound health from Ajmero in a European carriage, drawn by four horses, and I ordered several nobles to make up carriages like it."

Roe, describing this departure, says that Jahángir got into his coach, which was driven by an English coachman, "dressed as gaudily as any player, the horses being trapped and harnessed all in gold."

Another sketch is given after Jahángir had heard fresh complaints of the interference of the heir-apparent, and sent for Roe to apologise. "The good king fell to dispute of the laws of Moses, Jesus, and Mohamet; and in drink was so kind that he turned to me and said, 'I am a king, you shall be welcome.' Christians, Moors, Jews—he meddled not with their faith; they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong . . . and this he often repeated, but in extreme drunkenness he fell a weeping and to divers passions, and so kept up till midnight." But he was as good as his word in the sober morning hours, telling Roe that he should be always welcome, even if he came empty-handed. To Mr. Terry, he said, "*Padre*, you are very welcome. This house is yours; esteem it so."

In all this we cannot but find confirmation of the estimate of Jahángir otherwise arrived at; an indolent toper, but not a bad fellow. To such an extent did he push his contempt of business, as never, in the whole course of his memoirs, to make the slightest mention of the English or their embassy. But it is clear that, in his lazy way, he was kind and hospitable to them during their stay.*

It is curious to find Jahángir, in 1617, issuing his "Counterblast against Tobacco," like his contemporary

* A watch, with the name and date of "Steir, London, 1613," was found some years ago in the Agra Palace.—"Transactions of the Arch. Soc. of Agra," 1873.

James. His brother, Sháh Abbas, had done the same, he says, in Persia, but inveterate smokers could not obey. He says that he issued this order from a sense of the mischief that smoking caused the health; it is evident indeed that, with all his own bad habits, he never regarded himself as other than a virtuous and pious ruler. On new year's day (10th March, 1618, when the sun entered Aries), he writes in a cheerful strain of devout gratitude that would have done credit to a saint: "This day brought to a close the twelfth year [of the reign] of this humble servant of God, which had been passed in happiness. And now a new, auspicious year began. . . . May the remaining years of my life be passed in occupations consistent with the will of God, and may no moment pass without reflection on his greatness! . . . The Almighty has always and everywhere extended his assistance and protection to this his humble creature." But his mind was steeped in frivolity quite unbecoming his age and station. He relates with pride that about this time it occurred to his unaided imagination, that instead of the name of the month his coins should bear the figure of the sign of the zodiac, in which the sun might be at the moment of minting. He fell ill, and by the advise of his physicians left off liquor and took farinaceous food. His complaints are bitter: "From the time when I had arrived at years of discretion I had never, so far as I can recollect, drunk such broth, and I hope I may never be obliged to drink it again." He gives us a specimen of his poetry:—

"A cup of wine, with her we love, before we go to sleep,
The clouds are gathering, and the time has come for drinking deep."

This bold ejaculation he compares with the beautiful line of Jámi—

"To have one rose we suffer from a thousand thorns."

He desires that one of his sons who had offended him may always be known as "The Wretch." He gives an evil name to Wednesday because some calamities had befallen him on that day.

Some of his ordinances were silly, some were worse; his punishments were cruel and unusual. Jahángir boasts of having ordered caravanserais, etc., to be placed all along the roads of his empire; but contemporary travellers give an account of the dangers of travelling, which lead to the conclusion that his measures did but little towards either the comfort of travellers or their safety. Hawkins, early in the reign, wrote, "the country is so full of thieves and robbers that one can scarcely stir out of the house without a guard; almost the whole people are in rebellion." Roe, later on, had to delay his despatches for a month till he could send them with a caravan accompanied by a sufficient escort. He forbade the sale of liquor; but hear an account of his practice—"It was during the night that he gave himself up to intoxication in the society of his friends. All the Europeans in Agra, of whatsoever nation, were allowed free access to the palace. He would drink with them to daybreak" (Catrou, "Histoire des Mogols"). Like Nero, he burned down his own cities, yet he issued an edict against persons using the houses of others. He had people convicted of robbery trodden to death by elephants. A girl of his household being found kissing a man, was buried up to her

shoulders, and left two or three days with her head exposed to the sun's rays and the dews of night. A man—this is told by himself—being ordered for execution, was afterwards deemed so far an object of mercy that the emperor sent word only to cut his feet off! But it was too late; the head was gone. The absurd despot then made a rule that no one was to be executed at once, nor any sentence of death considered final till night. Some of his nobles who were so imprudent as to allude to an overnight debauch, were scourged to death. Terry says of justice, as he saw it administered, "The trials are conducted quickly, and the sentences speedily executed; culprits being hanged, beheaded, impaled, torn by dogs, destroyed by elephants, bitten by serpents or other devices . . . in the public market-place." A young man of rank, whose language was thought disrespectful, had half his head and face skinned, and was led round the camp in that condition. He "ordered that the officers of government should not forcibly take possession of the lands of the subjects, or cultivate them for their own benefit." But travellers found an anarchy prevailing in which the subjects could only hold as much as they could protect by open resistance to authority. Roe reports, "since everything has become vested in the king, no person takes care of anything, so that in every place the spoil and devastation of war appear." There is no reason for supposing that the administration improved after Roe's departure.

Sir H. Elliot gives a list of these ordinances with commentaries, showing that they were all puerile and mostly without practical enforcement. An unpre-

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judiced observer, however, will add, that they generally show good intentions.

In the sixteenth year of the reign Jahángir suffered from a terrible attack of asthma, the disorder of which he subsequently died. On the present occasion he tried to alleviate the distress of his chest by being constantly drunk, but Nurjahán, as he informs us, took him in hand. "Her sense and her experience exceeded that of the physicians, and in kindness and devotion she exerted herself to reduce the amount of my potations and to supply me with suitable remedies. . . . My hope is, that the Great Physician will grant me a complete cure." These are the tones of a really amiable man; and amidst all our blame, it is not possible to refuse sympathy to an absolute sovereign who takes us thus into his confidence. "When the news of my illness reached Parwez, that dutiful son hastened to see me. . . . I took his hand, drew him to my side, and pressed him affectionately to my bosom. . . . May his life and prosperity be prolonged!"

Parwez was more fortunate and better conducted than Khusru, the eldest, who, after repeated attempts on his father's life and power, had now been blinded and given into the charge of his third brother, Sháhjahán. About the end of the sixteenth year came tidings that he had died of cholic in the Deccan. His body was sent to Allahabad, where his tomb is still to be seen in a fine garden near the railway station of the E. I. R. The monument is a handsome building, and the walls are covered with the remains of very pretty paintings. The epitaph is a fair specimen of Persian tomb-poetry. The name of the author is not given. It

may have been by Jahángir himself; it must, at least, have had his approval. It is to the following purport:—

"Ah me! that in high heaven's award caprice should conquer right,
'Twas even so that came the woe when justice took to flight;
When life beyond the bounds of bliss her canvass house unfurled,
Because corruption undermined the pillars of the world.
The world has felt heaven's terrors, for where'er the flames have spread,
The very ashes out of sight are altogether sped.
Autumn, we know is coming, when the fullest bloom is seen,
Yet wisdom he forswore to be the Bulbul of the green.
But what avails the verdure when the thorn of death at last
Its hundred steel points through the folds of silken robes hath cast?
Or how shall I the truth deny with lips that sighing burns,
While the globe rolls her freight of souls—the burden that returns?
'The flower that sprang, the bird that sang, have died among the thorns,
For whom the earth laments below, the heaven above them mourns.'"

The unhappy mother of an ill-fated son had been buried in the same garden fifteen years before. There is no ground for doubting that Jahángir's sorrows in both cases were severe.

Among some curious anecdotes preserved by an anonymous but contemporary writer, from whom Elliot made extracts, it appeared that after Khusru had been blinded, Jahángir sent for him to Agra, and was so moved by his penitence and his sufferings that he took measures to have the eyes treated, which succeeded in partly restoring the use of one of them. The physician was honoured and rewarded.

About this time a formidable opposition arose, headed by the celebrated Pathan General, Mahábat Khán. The influence of the Empress Nurjahán and her brother amounted to a monopoly of the whole administration; and Mahábat Khán, though originally brought forward by them, was unable to submit to the eclipse into which their predominance threw him.

He first attempted remonstrances; but, as might have been expected, they were of little avail against the increasing influence of private life. The result is matter of history. The emperor was seized; and though treated with great respect, was deprived of the two things he most esteemed—his wine and his wife.

How the heroic woman endeavoured, at the risk of a violent death, to rescue her husband; how she then shared his captivity, and finally broke his bonds, Elphinstone has told in the most interesting manner. Mahábat went off to join Sháhjahán in the Deccan, where that prince was residing in disgrace. Prince Parwez died in 1628, and Sháhjahán became undoubted heir. The brief remainder of Jahángir's life was passed in peace, the hot months among the scenery of Cashmere, and in the company of his loved companion and consort; the winter at Lahore.

On the 11th March, 1627, Jahángir celebrated the twenty-second new year's day of his reign in camp on the banks of the Chenab, returning towards Cashmere. But the festival was clouded, the sick eye of the jaded monarch took no more delight in gold, and gems, and brocade; his tired ear loved no more the voice of singing men and singing women. Opium ceased to soothe, or wine to charm. He hurried onwards, hoping for restoration from the air of the happy valley. But it was too late. The mountains had lost their power for his exhausted constitution; his health only grew worse daily.

He had now only two sons left—Sháhjahán, who was far away, near Poona; and the beautiful Sháhryár, who had married the empress's daughter by her

former husband. At the approach of winter the emperor and empress returned to the plains, intending to pass the cold season at Lahore. On reaching Bairámkila, Jahángir ordered an antelope-drive, and stationed himself with his gun at the foot of a steep hill-side. While he stood here waiting for the herd to pass, a beater approaching too near the edge of the cliff lost his footing, and fell over the precipice, being shattered and slain almost at the emperor's feet. The shock was too much for Jahángir's enfeebled nerves. Hurrying to camp, he sent for the poor man's mother, and attempted to console her and himself by a gift of money: "but his mind found no rest. The ghastly face of the deceased was for ever before him;" and he was haunted by the notion that the whole accident had been a vision, in which Azrael had taken the form of the dead man. From that hour the emperor's health declined apace. He pushed on to Rajor. On the road he called for wine, but put it from him in disgust before it had been tasted. Next morning he died (28th October, 1627), in his fifty-ninth year. The body was sent to Lahore, where it was buried in the mausoleum which still exists in the garden of Sháhdara. This garden had belonged to Nurjahán. She retired from public life at her husband's death, and wore the white weeds of a Mughal widow for nineteen years. She died A.D. 1646, and was buried by the side of her husband.*

It is easy to see the faults of this man, half Turk, half Hindu, indulged and ill-educated in youth, uncontradicted and uncounselled in manhood, a wine

* "Blochmann," "Calcutta Review," and Motamad Khán's "Ikbálnama."

bibber like Bábar, without Bábar's manly energy; a sceptic like Akbar, without the earnest love of truth and right which inspired Akbar's scepticism. But he is a creature of flesh and blood, not a mere lay-figure in royal robes. His vices are more natural than the virtues attributed to others. His life and death are essentially human, and his "droppings of warm tears" are heard across the gulf of centuries, *mentem mortalia tangunt.*

First Note.—In the Agra Fort are two curious inscriptions commemorative of the pardon of Jahángir, and his recognition as heir to the throne at the end of his father's life. One is in a small guard-room in the "Delhi Gate." The following is the purport:—

"When the Lord of the World took his seat it rose so high,
That the carpet under its feet was the web of the sky,
And the ancient Heavens in ecstasy proclaim:
'For ever endure his power and fame!'"

The chronogram gives the date A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1606).

The other inscription is one of those beautifully carved upon the black stone seat upon the terrace of the Diwán-i-Khás:—

"When Salim, the heir of the Seal and Throne,
Gave laws from this sovereign height,
His name as 'Lord of the World' was known,
And his fame as 'Religion's Light.'"

The line above, which belongs to another set of verses, however, bears the date 1011 (three years before Akbar's death), with the name of Salim.

Second Note.—In Jahángir's reign, architecture became still more Hindu than even under Akbar. The finest specimens are described in Fergusson's "Indian Architecture"; they are as follows:—

1. The Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra.
2. The Temple of Gobind Debi at Brindában, near Muttra.
3. The Tomb of Itmád-ud-Daula at Agra.
4. Jahángir's Tomb at Lahore.

Of the first, some mention has been made in this chapter. Padre Manrique, an Augustin monk, who saw it in 1640, mentions that the portico was flagged out "with white and glistening marble;" and of the same opens "a wide and spacious road by which one reaches a great rectangular terrace of beautifully-wrought

stone-work rising from the ground to a height of eight or nine palms, from whose centre rises a moderate circular tower with a sumptuous vault for its covering and roof." The corridors, on either side, he adds, were covered with four cloisters arranged in apartments for the use of members of the royal family when they come to visit the monument, or take their pleasure in the gardens. Of the "portico," he says, that it was covered from ground to keystone with various pictures, supporting a portrait of the Virgin Mary, "whom the Mussalmans honour, though not in her true glory, as the mother of God."

The second was built by Rája Mán Sinh, Jahángir's kinsman, and has been admirably restored by the present Government, at the instance and through the instrumentality of the distinguished Hindi scholar, Mr. F. S. Grouse, M.A.

The third is one of the most lovely of the monuments of Agra, and stands in a pretty and well-kept garden on the left bank of the Jumna. In it are the tombs of Nurjáhan's father, Mirza Ghaias-ud-Dín, and his wife, who died towards the end of the reign. Jahángir and Nurjahán visited him on his death-bed, and the empress asking, "Father, do you not recognise his Majesty?" The old man answered with a couplet to the following effect:—

"Even if a mother-blind one happened to be present now,
He, be sure, would know and bless him, for the glory of his brow."

The fourth, the Sháhdara Mausoleum at Lahore, consists of a rectangular basement, with four minars crowned with graceful cupolas of white marble; but having been used by the Sikhs as a quarry for the materials of their "Godden Temple" at Amritsir, it is not easy to make out its original proportions. On the cenotaph is a Persian inscription which has been thus translated:—

"The illustrious resting place of his Majesty, the Asylum of Mercy, Nuruddin Jahángir Bádsháh, A.H. 1037." A chronogram follows.

CHAPTER V.

THE COURT OF SHÁHJAHÁN.

If we see in the reign of Akbar the consolidation of the Turkish power in Hindustan, and in that of his son a kind of continuation of the process under less earnest and dignified conditions, we must contemplate Sháhjahán's court as a picture of the outward and visible signs of that empire's equipoise and prime. It is here, if anywhere, that we must look for the pomp and grandeur which fired the youthful imagination of Milton, and gave rise in Europe generally to the *prestige* of "The Great Mogul." And we shall not look in vain.

The Abbé de Gouvernet, making a *précis* of the accounts of travellers that day, declared that the treasury of Sháhjahán contained property of the value of £180,000,000 sterling; and that the emperor had been seen to receive on one feast-day presents to the value of 30,000,000 of *livres*. The regular annual revenue was estimated at 782,000,000 (French money), and the expenses were in proportion.* The body-

* See "Thomas' Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire," p. 32, for a similar estimate (£27,000,000) *from land alone!*

guard was said to consist of twelve thousand cavalry, besides six hundred exempts—cavaliers of family who were waiting for commissions, and who served as cadets about the royal person. Two thousand ladies are reported to have peopled the seraglio. Ice was sent down from the Himalayas daily. All sorts of rare and choice food were sought for everywhere to be served at table. Progresses of the emperor and his household devour the land at every change of season; the "abundance visible in the palace astonishes and appears almost incredible." Tavernier—himself a jeweller—valued the peacock throne at an amount equal to nearly six and a-half millions sterling of our modern money.

An European traveller of those days entering the main gate of the palace would be conducted up a long street, bordered on either side by splendid shops, displaying gold and silver ornaments, mirrors, embroideries, brocades, all the luxuries most dear to the gorgeous Oriental taste. In the distance the guns were slowly saluting the rising of the monarch, and the barbaric band of the *Naubat Khána* was discoursing music which, when heard at a distance by accustomed ears, was found to have in it "something majestical." * On entering the great square, he saw on three sides cloisters, in which sat a crowd of spectators sheltered from sun and wind. In the *place* itself elephants and fighting animals were being led across a long parade. Gallant little troops of horse, magnificently equipped and caparisoned, pranced behind them. In the back ground stood many of the young exempts, ready to attend muster or exhibit feats of arms.

* Bernier.

On the fourth side was a long one-storied pavilion, of which three faces were arcades, and the fourth formed by the wall of the palace. Here, at a height of about ten feet, was an alcove twenty feet in breadth, veiled by brocaded curtains. The pillars of the hall are hung with tapestries of purple and gold, and the roof hidden by rich canopies; a *Shamiána* canopy of flowered tissue stands on silver poles in front. The cloisters where the people sit are similarly draped; a balustrade fences off those who are not entitled to the *entrée*, and these unprivileged spectators are pushed, cudgelled and pummelled, without mercy, by the mace-bearers and messengers who throng the hall. Within the rail stand the nobles, the ambassadors, the high officials of the empire; the premier, the treasurer, the chief eunuch, the general of the elephants, the controller of the wardrobe, all awaiting the appearance of the sovereign with downcast eyes, and hands crossed upon their breasts. Behind gratings in the wall are audible the soft clashing of bracelets and the prattle of ladies' tongues.

The stir increases, the square fills with excited animals and men, the musicians on the *Naubat Khána* redouble their harmonious discords. At a sudden signal all comes to an abrupt stop; the brocaded curtains open, the sovereign sun of this earthly firmament has appeared. The emperor is seated on the famous "peacock throne," and dressed in a robe of white satin, embroidered with gold thread. His headdress is of cloth-of-gold, with an aigrette of large diamonds, surmounting a topaz of unique size and value. Ropes of enormous pearls seem to weigh down his neck. His throne, raised on pillars of solid

gold, is blazing with rubies, and emeralds, and diamonds. Two peacocks, all of jewels, the work of Austin de Bordeaux, adorn this sumptuous seat. On stools, at the foot, are the princes of the blood—one gay and insolent, looking contemptuously upon the scene and its occupants; another with eyes bent upon the ground, and telling his beads, like a priest. Eunuchs stand behind, waving fans or driving off the flies with long brushes of feather. All present bow their heads. Sháhjahán, on his succession, abolished the kissing of the ground, except before God.

And now the music begins again, and again the great ordnance is discharged; and amidst this din and racket, this pomp and circumstance, the emperor transacts his business in the public manner traditional in the East, where the ruler has ever been the man who sat in the gate to do justice. Any person, however humble his lot in life, however remote his place in the assembly, had only to hold up his hand with a petition in it. As it catches the emperor's eye the petitioner is sent for; and after the adversary has been duly summoned, the case is gone into by the monarch in person. Three times a week a still more formal tribunal sits; "and thus," notes Bernier, "these kings, however barbarous esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember that they owe justice to their subjects."

Such was a *levée* of Sháhjahán, the fifth in descent from the great conqueror Bábar, who founded that empire, of which the shadow at least, endured to days within the memory of most adults now living. It is evident, from the manner in which the scene is described by Europeans, that it produced an impression even when compared with the splendid etiquette of

the *grand monarque*. But one element was wanting. Those lovely adventuresses and witty *marquises* that gave such a charm to the court ceremonies of the young Louis were absent at that of Sháhjahán. Ladies, though they might be guessed at behind the lattices, were never visible at an Indian court ceremonial. We shall, however, see that they appeared on less public occasions. Indeed it is not to be expected that female influence, hidden though it may have been, was not felt. Had this been so, the court of Sháhjahán would indeed have presented an exception to the general character of courts, whether Oriental or European. Sháhjahán was in truth always under the influence of women, first of his wife and then of his eldest daughter.

The Emperor Sháhjahán, originally called Sultán Khurram, was the third son of Jahángir, his mother being Jagat Gosáyini, better known as Jodh Bai, the daughter of Udai Sinh, "the fat" Raja of Márwár. He was born A.D. 1592, the thirty-sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Akbar, his illustrious grandfather. Not only was his mother a Hindu, but both his grandmothers were so likewise. As the child grew he became the favourite of his grandfather, and was present at his bedside during his last illness. The prince was then fourteen (by lunar computation). His misguided brother Khusru fled northward, to attempt to raise the country, and Jahángir ascended the throne at Agra. In the 25th year of his age Prince Khurram was sent to attempt the pacification of the Deccan; and here he succeeded in gaining the temporary submission of Adil Sháh and Malik Ambar. Having left a large force there under approved lieu-

tenants, Sultan Khurram waited upon his father at Mándu, where he received the title of Sháhjahán ("lord of the world"), and was raised to the rank of a *Siháyán*, or commander of thirty thousand horse, the highest grade in the Mughal peerage. In his thirty-first year, however, he fell into disgrace; his elder brother Parwez was declared heir-apparent, and Sháhjahán, as we must in future call him, went into open rebellion in the same regions. Marching from Mándu, he encountered his brother with an army and was forced to retire to the eastward. Jahángir in his memoirs, writing on this point, says:—"I directed that thenceforward he should be called 'The Wretch;' and whenever the word occurs in these memoirs, it is he who is meant." For some years the prince lived an obscure life in Bengal. In his thirty-fourth year, he again appeared in opposition in the Deccan, where he found an ally in his old enemy, Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of the King of Ahmadnagar. Burhanpur was obstinately besieged, and Sháhjahán led the stormers in person, but to no purpose, the place being relieved by Sultan Parwez, and the famous general, Mahábat Khán. Wandering southward, sick in body and mind, Sháhjahán wrote his father a humble letter of submission; and Jahángir, who, whatever his faults may have been, was indulgent and generous to his own family, pardoned him on conditions which were accepted by the prince, who retired to Nasik, near Bombay. For nearly two years more he lingered in the Deccan, when two circumstances occurred which completely changed his prospects. One was the rebellion of Mahábat Khán, the other the death, from *delirium tremens*, of Sultan

Parwez. Mahábat was put to flight, as is wel
by the energy of the Empress Nurjahán,
brother; and a contemporary historian, writi
time (viz., during the twenty-second year of
of Jahángir), makes a notable observation:
Khurram," writes Mohamad Amin, "remai
Deccan. We must wait to see what may h
him, and what course he may hereafter pursu
had not long to wait. At the end of the
emperor died in Kashmir. Great were the
that followed. Nurjahán had been schemi
tain the succession for Shahryár, the prince
married her daughter by her first husband.
astute brother, Asaf Khán, had willed othe
proclaimed the son of the deceased Khus
peror, and immediately sent off a trusty
with his own signet ring as a token, to ann
emperor's death and summon Sháhjahá
capital. The runner left Kashmir as order
twenty days reached Junir, in the neighb
Poona. Here he found Mahábat Khán
ance on the prince, to whom he had been
by common misfortune; and to him he
message and the ring of Asaf Khán. Sháhj
a short mourning, set out for the north, h
by letter called upon Asaf Khán to prove
by putting to death the pretender, which,
he proceeded to Agra, where he was at o
sally recognised as emperor. These event
the time from the 28th October, 1627, A.D.
Jahángir's death) to the 6th February of
ing year, when Sháhjahán ascended the
form at Agra.

following year died his loved wife, the
f Asaf Khán, over whom he built "the
nument known all the world over for the
esign and the sumptuousness of its decora-
favourite daughter before-mentioned sur-
parents for many years, and when she died
ment was of another sort, and, if it has
ous, has become famous for very different
In the courtyard of the mausoleum of
Saint, Nizám-ud-Din, near Delhi, are
nor tombs. One of these is described by
tephen as "a casket-shaped monument orna-
th embossed traceries, hollow at the top,
the sky; the hollow is filled with earth,
th green grass . . . . at the end is a narrow
rble, about six feet high, which bears an
. . . . some verses of which are said to
written by the begum herself—(it) is to
wing effect:—'Let nothing but the green
grave! The grass is the best covering for
of the poor in spirit. The humble, the tran-
ahánárá, disciple of the holy men of Chist, the
the Emperor Sháhjahán.'" The date cor-
1682, A.D.

he eldest daughter of Sháhjahán mentioned
as "very beautiful, a great wit, passionately
her father." He proceeds to mention a
arding the nature of the emperor's passion.
ve also a contemporary record in which is
the instrument by which the cleansing of
rown grave of Jahánárá may be instantly
anucci, the Italian physician of the Court,
ses himself upon the subject: "The attach-

ment she always had for her father, and the
of the avaricious Sháhjahán towards his
caused a suspicion that crime might be ble
their mutual affection. This was a popula
which *never had any other foundation th*
malice of the courtiers." The writer proce
force his opinion with several arguments;
who happen to have any personal knowled
character of those who hang about regal h
it is likely that no great amount of reasoni
required to show the possibility of Bernier
having no better foundation than Manucci*
It remains to be seen what were Manucci's
of knowing the truth, and what is the wo
authority.

Manucci's has been characterised as
authentic narrative that has been preserv
reign of Sháhjahán." It is true that the
contemporary works, both Persian and Eu
all are open to some objection or other. Th
however, is considerable; and it arises i
The narrative of Manucci is contained in "
of the Mughal Dynasty," by Father Fran
of which an English translation was pu
London in 1826, the original having first
the beginning of the last century.

The direct authority of the reverend
authority at all. At the same time a judici
his work may some day prove of high im
historian of the necessary tact and judgm
book evidently contains many interesti

* This is the form of the physician's name sanctioned b
spelling of Catrou is probably a French phonetic renderin

nestic life of the Court of Agra; but they sought for like plums in a school pudding. indeed, imbedded in a species of "duff," ugh good enough for the demands of Europe hundred years ago, has become quite un- modern appetites. The problem before the torian will be to separate this from the cts concerning the Turks in India illustrative in period of their history. For it has not en sufficiently borne in mind that Catrou n without direct knowledge of his subject, with his materials in a way calculated some- xcite the very gravest suspicion. The con- of following such a guide blindly, must be, as necessarily make the same mistakes as a ailor, who follows the old pattern to the extent g patches on a new garment.

acts, so far as they can be ascertained, are these: Catrou was the editor of the work of Signor , and Manucci was a Venetian physician who India about 1649, and resided there for the iod of forty-eight years. On his return to he brought with him a treatise which he had d there, partly from his own observations, and om Persian MSS. This work was copiously ed with portraits by the best native artists, and tten in Portuguese. Falling—we are not in- how—into the hand of an officer in the Civil of the French East India Company (whose ppears to have been Laudes), it was shown by Father Catrou, a Jesuit priest. He, finding able mention made there of the efforts of ic missionaries, judged that the publication of

the book would serve *ad majorem Dei gloriam*. He was also struck with the air of good faith and veracity that he found breathing through it. For the reigns of Sháhjahán and Aurangzeb, its authority, the father tells us, is such, that "a better account cannot be expected."

Unfortunately, the father could not content himself with the humble office of translation, nor did the state of his literary conscience require him either to indicate his additions or to get Dr. Manucci to vouch for their propriety or correctness. Here are the father's exact words as rendered by the English translator of 1826. Speaking of his author, he says :—

"I have not always rigidly followed him. I have not unfrequently assumed a privilege which is not unjustifiable . . . I have even collected from other quarters materials in aid of the brevity of the chronicle. Sometimes it is an English or French writer; but more frequently they are Portuguese or Dutch writers, whom I have consulted . . . I have even made no difficulty of attributing the entire work to M. Manucci (or Manouc i, as he spells it), and of inscribing it with his name only, if I could be persuaded of his entire approbation of that necessary matter which I have taken from other writers and engrafted upon his MS."

Manucci was then evidently alive and in Europe.

In the next paragraph, the father names the authorities here referred to. The only Dutch writer mentioned in the list is Jean de Laet, another compiler, who, like himself, had never been in India. From such a fact, it may fairly be inferred that the father would have done far better to have left his author to tell his own story. The frankness of the father's avowals saves us from the necessity of questioning his good faith; but, it must be confessed that, in the absence of any guide to the "accessory matter,"

it is peculiarly difficult to know what is the exact testimony of Manucci himself. Farther, it is apparent that the paintings have disappeared, and that the "relation of his own adventures," which the father tells us was included in Manucci's work, was not forthcoming when the English translation appeared. The most remarkable thing is that this unusual treatment was practised upon an author who was alive at the time of the publication (A.D. 1708) of Catrou's book.

Nevertheless, such as the work is, we may well be grateful for it, especially if we can, by internal or other evidence, gain any clue to what is the actual product of original observation on the part of one who was an inmate of the imperial palace and furnished with peculiar opportunities of studying the domestic life of the court.

Manucci came to Agra in or about 1649 A.D. He is, therefore, not a direct witness as to the reigns of Akbar and Jahángir; and whatever he may report as to the courts of that period is of no greater value than the rest of Catrou's materials, nor would it be worth while to endeavour to disentangle one from another. But, giving the father's statement its due value, the account of the Court of Sháhjahán is apparently the authentic testimony of an eyewitness. In 1649, Sháhjahán had already been twenty-two years on the throne. The tragedy of Amr Sinh* had passed without any Hindu outbreak. The *Táj Mahal* of Agra was just finished, and the palaces there and at New Delhi had been for some time completed. The emperor's family had either died or grown up; but

* *Vide* Note at the end of Chapter.

no warning had yet been given of the frig
sensions that were destined in a few years
the captivity of the father, and the slaughte
of the children. The emperor was about si
of age, fond of pleasure, but artistic in his t
nified in his habits, and maintaining a not u
ful war against the Persians. The sun of h
as a contemporary writer might have said, w
descending in splendour, and no presage ap
the sky of the storms that were to obscure a
terrible its swift decline.

The emperor had been virtually a widow
years; for, although availing himself of the
privilege of a plurality of wives, Sháhjahán
to have been practically a monogamist. Th
of his large family *—eight sons and six dau
was the famous Mumtaz-i-Mahal, in whos
the Táj was built, and whose official title wa
'Aliya Begum. This lady was Persian by o
daughter of Asaf Khán, prime minister in
ceding reign, and brother of the emperor
mother, Nurjahán. At the date of Manucci
at Court, only eight of her children were liv
mother having died in 1630, when Jahán
about fifteen years of age.

We learn from Manucci that the dece
press, whom he had already learned to ca
corrupt name (*Táj Mahl*) by which her m
is now known, had a great prejudice ag
Christians, especially against the Portugue
he attributed in part to the prepossessions de

* The "Sháhjahánnáma" mentions one child—who died in
another wife.

ess in her youth from the religious teaching
nt, the Empress Dowager Nurjahán, but
o to the fact that the Portuguese of Hughli
shelter to two of her daughters whom the
ad converted to Christianity. Under such
, Sháhjahán registered a vow to extermi-
stians and to extirpate their faith from his
s. The year (A.D. 1631) having been dry, the
was very low, and the unfortunate Portuguese
li were unable to make much use of their
her for defence or as means of escape. The
of treachery were joined by the besiegers to
rs of a strict blockade. A great portion of
nchment was undermined and blown into
An assault was at once delivered, in which
uguese were worsted, with considerable car-
The victorious leader of the imperial forces,
Khán, entered the town, where he destroyed
fications and places of worship, and sent the
inhabitants in captivity to the Court at
The women were made slaves; the men were
ised or confined. Verroneo, the architect of
is said to have, with difficulty, procured the
e of some of the priests, who were also de-
by Asaf Khán, after two had sunk under their
ings.* Thus did the fanatic vengeance of one
oman affect the happiness of thousands when she
been in her grave twelve years. Nor did the
op at this. Unmindful of the policy of his
minded predecessors, Sháhjahán proceeded to
"the best part of a very fair and large church

* This is confirmed by Manrique.

at Agra that had been built by the favour of Ja
and upon which stood a great steeple with a b
whose sound might be heard over all the tow
Bernier, who must have had good means of i
tion on such subjects, though we may be dis
doubt his information as to what went on in the
private apartments of the palace). Bernier says, of
the treatment then experienced by Christians, that it
"was a misery and a desolation not to be pa
a kind of Babylonian transmigration." He
however, sufficient particulars about Bastian G
and his nest of cut-throats at Chittagong, to sh
naturally, if not justly, the Christian name
credited in those days, and what just offence
any sort of government was given by the Po
authorities by whom such ruffians were enc
"They are thus become," he concludes, "a prey to
their enemies, and fallen so low in the Indies, that I
know not whether they will ever recover
Whereas, formerly, before they were corrupted by
vice . . . they made all others tremble in the
for as much as then they were brave and
men, zealous for the Christian religion, con
for gallant exploits and for riches, all th
kings seeking their friendship." Possibly,
some excuse for the attack upon them after all.

We have already seen how large a family Sh
jahán had by the wife of his youth. This sm
detail shows that even Manucci is not a perfectly
guide. When he arrived at court there were only
or seven of these children left, whom he supp
be the offspring of various mothers. "The
he says, pointing his moral from a mistake

make no scruple of placing limits by the ple practices to the fecundity of their hus the emperor's progeny was confined to ." But the "Bádsháhnáma," a contem- Persian chronicle, records the birth of no urteen of these princes and princesses, all ing the offspring of the Táj lady, and of t least attained maturity.

scription of the four best known of the ose among whom the empire struggle took of the two surviving princesses, has been ernier, and repeated by Sleeman and other riters. From Manucci we learn further ich, as he was the family physician and he palace, are of great importance. It is instance, that Dára, the eldest, endeavoured n that interest in the religion and manners t, which had been so largely displayed by ather, and still more by Akbar. It is very at Sháhjahán, who was by birth only one- ussulman should have been the most bigoted e who had yet ruled in India, but the story ack on Hughli seems to indicate that this istic was due to the influence of his Persian om he had so warmly loved and so magni- mourned. Dára had entirely emancipated rom this influence. It may be supposed that partly the whim of an heir-apparent pleased minor court in opposition to his sovereign . Certainly a similar attitude had been by Sháhjahán himself in the lifetime of and much does the English envoy of those Sir T. Roe, tell of the troubles that he en-

countered from the manner in which Sháhjahán (the crown prince of Roe's time), backed by his father-in-law, and the Empress Nurjahán endeavoured to thwart the kindly feelings of the Emperor Jahángír towards the Christians and their embassy. But the curious thing in Dára's case is that he was not in opposition, nor had he any female backer in the family whose secret wishes were opposed to those of its head. So far as our present lights go, we must abandon the attempt to reconcile Dára's constant favour at court with his equally constant kindness to the Christians. Had he been in any doubt as to his father's feelings, in any anxiety about the succession, in any position of remote employ or honourable banishment, one could readily understand his taking up European ideas in order to annoy the mind of his father, and thwart the designs of that father's policy. But that a loved and trusted and openly recognised heir-apparent, always domesticated with his father, and enjoying the strictest fondness of his eldest sister, whose will was law in the household, should openly maintain opinions and practices of which the emperor disapproved; this is indeed a mystery.

For, as to the fact, no doubt whatever can exist after a perusal of this part of Catrou's work—evidently taken from Manucci. Not only did Dára patronize to the very last the French traveller, Bernier, but he had acquired (so we are informed) all the sciences, and most of all, the languages of Europe. He had attracted to his service skilful gunners and engineers from several European countries. His cabinet council consisted of three Jesuit priests, a Neapolitan named Malpica, Juzarte, a Portuguese

of all, Henri Buzé, a Fleming, who is by Bernier as having enormous influence nd. Most unfortunately, the result of all not to produce the Christian virtues of nd gentleness, for to such a pitch of and contempt for his less-cultured neighDára proceed as to give offence in quarters ive offence was to sow the seed of almost saster. Of the other princes, Sháh Shujá nor of the Eastern Subahs, Morád of Gujarát, ngzeb of the Deccan, corresponding roughly esent provinces respectively, of Bengal, nd Madras. The remaining member of the Princess Roshanára, though less brilliant ster, possessed the same intriguing character ourite brother, Aurangzeb, to whom she a spy, and furnished him with intelligence ever happened in the palace, whereby his might seem likely to be affected.

To the "Bádsháhámas" of Kazwini and Lahori, the "Sháhjahánnáma" of Ináyut Khán, all who would hope for a clear knowledge of s. Of Kháfi Khán, too, it would be difficult oo highly. All these authorities are highly those best competent to form an opinion. t Khán, Mr. Morley records that he had nd good qualities inherited from his father, nor of Cashmere—was witty, and of agreeable Of Kháfi Khán, Professor Dowson speaks storian "of high and well-deserved repute." ne and Grant Duff used his work. Sir called his book "one of the best and most histories of modern India."

By referring to these authorities, the no
Sháhjahán being an indolent Hindu, absor
pleasure and incapable of reigning, is soon dis
So much has to be said here, though the presen
is by no means intended to give a complete view
conduct as a public character. But the result
narratives above mentioned is undoubtedly to confirm
the view of Mr. Elphinstone, that the period of Sháh-
jahán's active manhood is the zenith of the Mussulman
empire of India.

The best account, however, of the court life of
Sháhjahán that has been preserved is to be found in
the "Itinerary" of Manrique, an Augustinian friar,
who visited India in the reign of that emperor.

Manrique went to Agra, 24th December, 1640,
and proceeded to Lahore (where the court then was)
in the fourteenth year of the reign, when Sháhjahán
was at the height of his prosperity, having just taken
Candahar from the Persians, and attached to himself
the celebrated commander and engineer, 'Ali Mardán
Khán. Sháhjahán was at Lahore engaged in the
superintendence of the Ravi Canal, for the benefit
(as the "Bádsháhánáma" says) of "the cultivation of
the country through which it should pass." Asaf
Khán—the brother of the late emperor's widow, Nur-
jahán, and father of the empress, to whom the Táj
was raised—was prime minister, though near his end,
which happened 11th November, 1641; his nett salary
was equal to five hundred thousand pounds a year of
modern sterling; he had just finished building a house
at Lahore at a cost of nearly half that sum.

It was to confer with this minister that the
came to Lahore, and he records with gratitude

eatment that he received. During his stay esent at the celebration of the emperor's hich he has amusingly described. (Sháh- born 6th January, 1592).

The day began with salvos of great guns from the fort. Then came dances, and other spectacles, which occupied a great part of the short day. In the afternoon the emperor visited his mother, with a great train of lords and princes. Then, returning to the palace, he gave a splendid collation to all the court. At the end of which he repaired to a special and richly furnished chamber, in the midst of which was a pair of scales hanging from chains of gold, the scales themselves being also of gold, encrusted with precious stones of various colours. He himself was so laden with jewels as to make Manrique think "more of the troublesome load than of the brave adornment."

Seated in one of these scales the monarch was weighed four times, once against bags of rupees, once against bags of gold and gems, once against cloth of gold and silver, with precious drugs and spices; a fourth and last time against dainty dishes and confections. All was then devoted to the use of the deserving poor with a delicacy which made the friar think of Matt. vi. 1-4, and wish it were equally observed by Christians.

Yet so great withal was the emperor's parsimony, that while spending all this money he gave nothing to his courtiers in exchange for the splendid gifts they brought him, excepting fruits, imitated in metal of which one thousand were scarcely worth fifty rupees. This, however, was part of Sháhjahán's revenue

Still more curious is the following relati
banquet given by Asaf Khán to the emperor

"The banquet was given in the principal hall of the
which, besides the fixtures, there were added on this occ
carpets of silk, silver, and gold, which covered the floor,
ground-tables, according to the native custom, as also fo
the guests; and these coverings were useful, because i
corners of the hall were other similar tables, each of five
all enriched with Persian coverings of gold and silver,
stands and dressers; all covered with different vessels of
which the sight had full occupation, distinguishing in some
of jewellery used, and in others, instead of it, the very fine
enamelling varying the material, assimilated the colouring.
superb display was accompanied by various and large perf
and silver braziers of extraordinary forms placed in orde
the hall, in which burnt very sweet perfumes composed
civet, and other blended pastiles which in their union
sense of smell. At the entrance of this beautiful hall the
on one side delivered seven streams, whose silver pipes
make and considerable size, were adorned with thin plates
which through their elevated heads discharged fine threads
waters, which, falling in a large basin of the same mat
always half full. Then, discharging by another par
received was thus able to be always used for those wash
feet which in Mughal manners is one of the most essential
ceremonial courtesy. In the middle of this was placed
occasion a '*dester chana*,'† or 'table-cloth,' as we shou
fine white tissue, in which were woven artificial flowers
silver. In the chief place of this table were two great
cushions of cloth of gold and satin, on which were oth
of cloth of silver, also satin. This was all the displ
perial table, including a want of napkins, which they

"At this, when the time came, arrived the emperor,
by a great train of beautiful and gallant ladies who
very richly dressed, in cloth of gold, blending with

* The *ghusal khána* or bath-hall was the private apart
Indian Turk.

† Properly *dastarkhwán*.

[illegible] coloured silk; wearing on their necks collars of gold, [illegible] pearls, and their heads dressed with silver garlands. [illegible] sightly feminine society came the emperor between his [illegible]-in-law and his daughter, having the one on his right hand and the other on his left. Behind followed, presently, the Crown Prince Sultan Dara Sheko, having on his right hand his grandfather Asaf Khán.

Whilst this company was arriving, they presently began to play in the neighbouring rooms many and various instruments until the emperor was seated in the middle of the cushions that I have mentioned, having at his shoulders two venerable matrons, who stood with splendid fans to drive off the troublesome flies—when suddenly the hosts and their children fell on their knees before his majesty, who, laying his hand upon his mother-in-law bidding her rise, and calling her mother, seated her on his right hand—a favour which both her husband and her sons so highly appreciated, that they presently showed their estimation of the gracious act by the most profound reverences to the emperor—who, to enhance it the more [illegible]-made them also sit at the table, which they did not do till the third command, when they took their seats at its extremity; the grandsire placing the princess between. When all these ceremonies were accomplished and everyone was seated in the above order, there were presently heard most sweet voices singing of the victories which his majesty had gained over his enemies. While this concert, which was accompanied by instrumental music, was proceeding, the arrangements for hand-washing made their appearance in the following order:—First entered four lovely girls related to Asaf Khán, and daughters of great lords, who in complexion and brilliancy of hair might compare with the fairest daughters of the frigid north, and not inferior in grace, elegance and beauty . . . . These four beauties bore the instruments pertaining to his majesty's hand-washing; to whom approaching after the royal ceremonies, one held before her a cloth of white satin, which he took up in his hands, and another held up a rich vessel of gold, in which were inlaid valuable jewels. These vessels are of quite superior invention [illegible], moreover, their being deep in the middle and being covered [illegible] grating allows the dirty water to disappear. This basin [illegible] placed before him, another comes with an ewer of the same [illegible]al and value containing water with which he washed his [illegible] receiving from the last of these ladies [illegible]e towel on which to

wipe them. When this was finished, appeared twelve others, who although of lower rank than the former, might appear with confidence in any presence. These having presented to the princes, though with less ceremony, the lavatory for their hands, took their departure, on which, by another door, the dinner was brought in with a loud sound of wind instruments, more confused and harsh than our own brass bands. This banquet was served in rich dishes of gold, borne by eunuchs gallantly attired in the Hindustani style, with trousers of variegated silks and snow-white cloaks, at the same time displaying the precious unguents with which they were perfumed, and also concealing their [illegible] and darksome skins. Of these the four chief ones placed themselves near his majesty, doing nothing but handing up the courses which the other eunuchs brought to two beautiful girls who were [illegible] their knees at the emperor's side. These bring forward the food alternately, and in similar order serve the drink and take away the dishes which are not used there. . . . . At the end of the conversation, the banquet having lasted four hours . . . . entered twelve dancing women, who performed in a manner unsuited to Christian society; after which appeared in the midst three beautiful young ladies, in gay and costly garments, bearing in their hands three large and splendid dishes of gold, filled with precious diamonds, pearls, rubies, and other valuable gems."

The narrative concludes with reflections on Sháh-jahán's passion for riches and jewellery, and an expression of the author's satisfaction at seeing such splendid and unusual things.

Leaving history to the historians, let us now take a short view of the artistic doings of the time. In the eighth year the *celebrated peacock throne* was constructed at a cost (it is said) of one hundred *lakhs* of rupees, and set up in the palace of Agra.* In the thirteenth the Ravi was made into a canal to irrigate the culturable land from the foot of the hills as far as Lahore, under the direction of a Persian refugee, the celebrated Ali Mardán Khán. About the same time

* *Vide* Note at the end of Chapter.

egun the works at New Delhi—still known to ople by the name of Sháhjahán-ábád. After early ten years of work the fort and palace there were completed, in A.D. 1658. About the same time another canal was opened, from Khinyrábád to Delhi, answering very nearly to the modern Western Jumna Canal, and still under that name, a work of signal usefulness. In the thirty-first year of the reign died Ali Mardán Khán, the Amir-ul-Amra and architect, to whose skill the emperor had been so much indebted. His grief is recorded by a contemporary writer.

Shortly after his own health became seriously affected, and the conspiracy that had been long prepared by Aurangzeb and his sister, the Princess Roshanárá Begam, broke out, ending, as we all know, in the success of the conspirators, and the death of all who opposed them openly. Manucci's description of the fall of Sháhjahán is very graphic, and has all the air of being done from direct observation. We only note the portion directly connected with the palace at Agra.

Sháhjahán, he says, after the defeat of Samoghar had opened the way to the capital, perceived from the highest tower of his palace that his citadel was invested. Dára had fled northwards, but the sight of immediate danger awoke in the old warrior a feeling of indignation, and of the military energy that he had displayed in earlier days. He opened fire upon his rebellious sons, but eventually admitted a deputation from them on finding that their artillery was hopelessly stronger than his own. The palace was accordingly entered by Sultan Mohamad, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, at the head of a considerable troop, and a

scene of dreadful confusion and bloodshed followed—soldiers, women, slaves, eunuchs, all that surrounded the person of the sovereign, were overpowered and put to the sword. After a hypocritical address from his grandson, the emperor was deposed, and made a close prisoner. He lived in captivity for seven years more, tended by Jahánárá, and then expired peacefully in the beautiful palace that he had built, on the 22nd June, 1666, in the seventy-fifth (solar) year of his age.

The dying eyes of the dethroned monarch may have dwelt on the lovely monument that he had erected to the wife of his youth, and the completion of which is recorded on the gateway to have taken place in 1648, about a year before the date of Manucci's arrival in India. This, which is (as we shall presently see) but one out of numerous monuments of the taste and sumptuousness of this emperor, does not satisfy some modern tastes. They find something meretricious in the towers and domes and glacier-gleaming sides of a building where so many pilgrims have been wont to bow. It is, according to such critics, the appropriate monument of a mistress rather than the tomb of a wife. Of such matters, each of us must form our own judgment. Such as the *Táj* may be, we have only here to note that the cold-blooded son thought it a fit resting-place for his discrowned father, whom he laid by the side of his other parent, placing over the grave a cenotaph upon the upper storey, in which the last effort of Mughal art is displayed in *pietra dura*.

The Princess Jahánárá, or "*Begam Sahiba*," as she was commonly called, shared, as we have seen,

the captivity of the father who, in his prosperity, had shewn her such complete indulgence. Manucci has fallen into a most curious mistake as to the meaning of this word *Begam*, which he declares to mean "void of care." It is in reality no more than a Persian feminine from *beg*, the well-known Turkish word for "chief" or "lord," by which Mughals are still known in India. In the same way, from the title *Khán*, appropriate to Pathans in India, has been formed the feminine *Khánam*.

Of the space and population of the Agra palace, so far as the ladies' apartments are concerned, Catrou gives an exaggerated account, partly derived from de Laet who, as already observed, had never been in India. The vast courts, containing two thousand ladies (which Father Catrou has adopted from Manucci), consist in fact of one quadrangle 170 feet by 235 feet (Fergusson), of which only three sides could have been occupied by the ladies, and which contain besides several halls and baths. It is true that there are two storeys; but even so, it is plain that such a space (585 square feet in all) could not possibly have held 2000 pampered women. Unfortunately, Catrou has for once indicated the portions of his description for which Manucci is answerable, and there is no doubt that the Venetian doctor really did give this extravagant number as that of the fair occupants of the *Zanána*. But as his account of this part of the palace is prefaced by the statement that it relates to a mystery only known to eunuchs, and as moreover, it teems with other exaggerations, we may be permitted to follow the evidence of our own senses, which shows us that the 2000 ladies could have had no

more real existence than the running streams, shadowy groves, and other romantic wonders which the Venetian physician believed this part of the palace to contain. These apartments are still extant, in as good preservation, substantially, as when the emperor died there; and we are thus in a position to see what truth there is under the gorgeous fables of Catrou.

The courtyard in question has long been known locally as the "*Angúri Bagh*," or grape garden. It is formed by the apartments facing the river, where the emperor lived and died, and the three sides already mentioned, which contain in all seventeen rooms on the ground floor, and fifteen on the first floor, besides arcaded halls, bath-rooms, and small closets. Each of the chambers may average 15 feet by 10 feet, and any one can judge how many ladies could have been stowed away in thirty-two of such.

The precise set of apartments occupied by Jahánárá are not designated by tradition, but they may possibly have been those in the western side, exactly facing the *Khás Mahal*, or withdrawing room of the emperor. Here are to be found *hammáms*, or Turkish baths, marble floors, glazed tiles, and the remains of richly-groined vaults. The intervening spaces of the quadrangle are filled with flower beds, divided by sculptured stone borderings; and in front of the withdrawing room is a large cistern containing some fountain pipes still capable of sending up small *jets d'eau*.

Bernier has preserved some scandalous stories of Jahánárá's love of pleasure and intrigue, and of the fatal consequences which sometimes followed the discovery of a young male visitor in her apartments. There is in particular a horrible narrative of a lover

whom the princess concealed in a bath at her father's approach; but the emperor having knowledge of the affair, ordered the hypocaust to be heated, so that the rash intruder was boiled to death. These tales may not be true, but they may serve to show that Jahánárá was not more circumspect in her conduct than ladies in her situation are wont to be. But over all these details hangs the veil of Oriental seclusion, deeply incrusted with the dust of centuries. Let us leave idle guessing at what it conceals, and pass on.

When the emperor was dead, Jahánárá was easily persuaded to leave the Agra palace. Tavernier describes having seen her departure.* She went to Delhi, and there passed sixteen years in the company of her more politic sister, Roshanárá, the worshipper of the rising sun. In about A.D. 1682 she died, probably in her sixty-sixth year, and was buried in the tomb described in the earlier portion of this paper under the touching epitaph that has appealed to so many hearts since then.

Of her loved brother the fate was both swifter and more strikingly tragical. Some writers of the period have said that when his father's illness took place, Dára caused him to be arrested and assumed the sovereign power; but Catrou declares that Manucci denied this, and stated on the authority of his own observation that Dára always behaved to Sháhjahán with the respect to which he was entitled during the dark days preceding the siege. When his brothers approached Agra, Dára marched out of the gates for the last time, at the head of 100,000 men, with a

* *Vide* Note in "Fin."

superb artillery manned by Europeans. But his fortune—probably his faults, and consequent unpopularity overweighed his advantages—he was routed, and fled. After a number of distressing wanderings he was at length delivered over to his implacable brother. Kháfi Khán, though writing when Aurangzeb was absolute lord of the empire, does not scruple to record the attack made by the citizens of Delhi on Jiwan Khán, the betrayer of the gallant victim—a disturbance which, says the historian, bordered on rebellion. In September 1659, a fatwa was pronounced, finding Dára guilty of heresy, and he was soon after decapitated in prison. He had previously begged for an interview with Father Buzé, the Flemish priest mentioned before; and his last words were "Mahommad causes my death, but the son of Mary is my salvation." Catrou gives this speech in Persian, and may possibly have had it from Buzé, as there is no reason for supposing that he himself understood that language; nor are the words correctly given.

Such was the end of the builder of the Táj, and of his favourite children by the wife of whom the Táj is the monument. It is plain that Sháhjahán's fall was the consequence of his peculiarities of character, as indeed usually happens in human affairs. There is no reason to doubt that in his youth he had been an able and warlike administrator, as was but natural in a prince brought up in the school of Akbar and of the stout Pathan Mahábat Khán, whom Colonel Tod, for no imaginable reason, represents to have been a Rajput.* As years advanced, age and a long tenure of

* He was a native of Cábul, originally named Zamánat Khán.—*Vide* "Tuzak-i-Jahángeri," p. 10.

power developed, first, a love of splendour, pleasure, and art; and, ultimately, an indolence, which led him to leave all the duties of empire in the hands of Dára. But the whole of the European authorities of the day support the view of Catrou that the emperor never neglected the duties of justice, as understood by Oriental despots, nor the claims of clemency which usually prevailed with the princes of his house. Even in our own days, and in a part of the East so much exposed to European influence as the Ottoman Empire, we see how different are the ideas of Government amongst Orientals from those entertained in Christian countries; and it would be absurd to look for modern European ideas in a Turkish ruler of India in the seventeenth century. But it was the opinion of Mr. Elphinstone — surely no inexperienced observer or incompetent judge—that India under Sháhjahán enjoyed as good government and as much prosperity as did the Roman Empire in the time of the Emperor Severus.

Some reference has already been made to the fondness of Sháhjahán for gigantic public works. These were of three kinds. There were palaces and *mausolea* devoted to the glory of the imperial family; there were places of public worship; and, lastly, works calculated for the sole benefit of the people. It may safely be said that as much care was devoted to one class as to another; and on each and all has been impressed the stamp of a taste at once refined and sumptuous. The following is a list of the principal works of each class constructed under the orders of Sháhjahán.

1. Tombs and Palaces.—First in order of celebrity

is the famous *Táj Mahal*, or mausoleum of the Empress Alya Begam, who died in the end of A.D. 1629 at Barhánpur, in the Deccan. Like our own Edward I., Sháhjahán carried the body of his consort to the metropolis, where it lay, in a spot still marked out in a corner of the garden, until the completion of the sepulchre. This magnificent tomb has been described so often that little remains to be said concerning it. Judged by the rules of European architecture, the outlines may be condemned as stiff, and the whole *silhouette* as cutting the sky with no boldness. But, seen through the gateway, framed in the farther arch, with the fronting avenue of Italian cypresses, and the row of fountains waving in the breeze their long and pliant plumes, the glistening walls and softly-curving dome, have a charm that few can resist. The colouring, the style, the whole delicious harmony that goes to make up the notion of "taste," give the Táj a distinction which always fascinates, but which can, perhaps, only be completely understood by comparing it with similar buildings constructed just before or shortly after. Of the other works of this class, we come next to the marble portions of the Agra palace already mentioned. Of these structures, Mr. Fergusson says that they are "marked with peculiar elegance," and he repeats the phrase twice again in the same page. These buildings were begun in 1628, and finished in A.D. 1637.

Next must be mentioned the palace in the fort of Shahjahánábád, or New Delhi, said by the same authority ("Fergusson," p. 591) to be less picturesque than that of Agra, but to have had the "advantage of being built on one plan, and by the most mag-

as a builder, of all the sovereigns of India." further on of the Dehli palace that it is, er was, the most magnificent in the East— in the world." These buildings are later se of Agra.

jahán appears to have been somewhat delicate , and, finding the extremes of climate at Agra h for him, resolved in the twelfth year of his move his residence to Dehli. The Mughal f that city was then the *Din Panah* at ; but the sumptuous Sháhjahán required a lendid dwelling. After much choosing, the fixed, and in 1638 the foundation-stone was he works occupied ten years, and in 1648 án entered the fort by the river gate, and s first court in the *'Am Khás* of the new The circuit of the fort is said to be about a d a-half; the river wall is 60 feet high; and ce buildings are on a level with the summit. land side the walls rise to a still greater and are 45 feet broad at the base, with a ditch, wide by 30 feet deep. Two barbacans of the of 110 feet guard the entrances on this side: aller gates open on the river face. Within vast series of beautiful apartments, some of are still standing. A detailed description of f parts of the palace, from a native pen, will d translated in the introductory chapter of s "Fall of the Mughal Empire."

Of religious buildings we have many specimens h it will suffice to mention the three best The *Jama Masjid* of Agra faces the Delhi the fort, and was built in 1644-50; it is a

handsome structure, and bears an inscriptic
cating it to the Princess Jahánárá. In 1(
completed the beautifully simple and chas
Masjid or "Pearl Mosque" of Agra, the lovely
of which seem indicative of a European a
1658 is the date assigned to the *Jama Masjid* o
of which Fergusson expresses himself as follow
is raised on a lofty basement, and its three g
and the frontispiece and domes of the mosqu
make up a design where all the parts are pl
subordinated to one another, but at the san
produce a whole of great variety and elegance
is very high praise for a building, and comes f
undoubted authority. Nor should the size
enormous group be omitted from consideratio
no cherry-stone carving, but a masonry work
truly Cyclopean. It stands on a masonry terrac
area is 1400 square yards, and is approached
less than thirty-three steps. Three sides of th
rangle are open colonnades; the actual *sanctum* i
260 feet by 90 feet, covered by three dom
flanked by two towers, each 130 feet in height
hall of worship is floored with black and white
marking out prayer-places for 899 worshippers
pulpit is said to be cut out of one solid bl
marble.

3. The works of public utility were chie
purposes of irrigation, and for supplying the i
of the city and palace of Delhi with potable
Roads and rest-houses already existed, and
were the only objects remaining to occu
emperor's care. These he undertook on a lavis
as has been already partly described. The s

of Sháhjahán, with improvements due to the ed knowledge and skill of our day, are still le in the modern Jumna canals, which over a ct of country, from the Himalayas to Hissar side, and to the middle of the Duáb on the made the wilderness to bloom, and insured millions of human beings and cattle against ng from famine.

se are not the works of a frivolous voluptuary; ne of his successors has yet surpassed the taste and the energetic expenditure of the or Sháhjahán.

a financier his talents or his care must have ery considerable. After all the public works of gn, and after campaigns in every part of the sula, from the frontiers of Golconda to beyond har, Sháhjahán, at his fall, had his treasury filled large accumulations of coin, besides bullion and the whole estimated (as we have already seen), hundred and eighty millions sterling.* Judged ental standards, therefore, this monarch rises far, ve the average, and is entitled to a place, if not same step of the temple of fame as Solomon ladin, yet not far below.

—Baron Tavernier d'Aubonne, bred an engraver, but afterwards en- Louis Quatorze, was an indefatigable traveller. Between 1651 and three times in India, where he devoted himself chiefly to the col- jewels. Without any literary pretensions he kept careful notes, and was translated into English by a Mr. Phillips soon after its publica- copy from which the following extracts are made was published "by y, at the 'Mitre,' in Fleet Street, near Temple Bar," in 1678. Peacock Throne which he saw in the Diwán Aám of Delhi, he says,

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Elphinstone, however, adopts a far more moderate estimate.

is the famous *Táj Mahal*, or mausoleum of the Empress Alya Begam, who died in the end of A.D. 1629 at Barhánpur, in the Deccan. Like our own Edward I., Sháhjahán carried the body of his consort to the metropolis, where it lay, in a spot still marked out in a corner of the garden, until the completion of the sepulchre. This magnificent tomb has been described so often that little remains to be said concerning it. Judged by the rules of European architecture, the outlines may be condemned as stiff, and the whole *silhouette* as cutting the sky with no boldness. But, seen through the gateway, framed in the farther arch, with the fronting avenue of Italian cypresses, and the row of fountains waving in the breeze their long and pliant plumes, the glistening walls and softly-curving dome, have a charm that few can resist. The colouring, the style, the whole delicious harmony that goes to make up the notion of "taste," give the Táj a distinction which always fascinates, but which can, perhaps, only be completely understood by comparing it with similar buildings constructed just before or shortly after. Of the other works of this class, we come next to the marble portions of the Agra palace already mentioned. Of these structures, Mr. Fergusson says that they are "marked with peculiar elegance," and he repeats the phrase twice again in the same page. These buildings were begun in 1628, and finished in A.D. 1637.

Next must be mentioned the palace in the fort of Shahjahánábád, or New Delhi, said by the same authority ("Fergusson," p. 591) to be less picturesque than that of Agra, but to have had the "advantage of being built on one plan, and by the most mag-

nificent, as a builder, of all the sovereigns of India." He says further on of the Dehli palace that it is, "or rather was, the most magnificent in the East—perhaps in the world." These buildings are later than those of Agra.

Sháhjahán appears to have been somewhat delicate in health, and, finding the extremes of climate at Agra too much for him, resolved in the twelfth year of his reign to move his residence to Dehli. The Mughal palace of that city was then the *Din Panah* at Indrapat; but the sumptuous Sháhjahán required a more splendid dwelling. After much choosing, the site was fixed, and in 1638 the foundation-stone was laid. The works occupied ten years, and in 1648 Sháhjahán entered the fort by the river gate, and held his first court in the *'Am Khás* of the new palace. The circuit of the fort is said to be about a mile and a-half; the river wall is 60 feet high; and the palace buildings are on a level with the summit. On the land side the walls rise to a still greater height, and are 45 feet broad at the base, with a ditch, 75 feet wide by 30 feet deep. Two barbacans of the height of 110 feet guard the entrances on this side: two smaller gates open on the river face. Within was a vast series of beautiful apartments, some of which are still standing. A detailed description of the chief parts of the palace, from a native pen, will be found translated in the introductory chapter of Keene's "Fall of the Mughal Empire."

2. Of religious buildings we have many specimens of which it will suffice to mention the three best known. The *Jama Masjid* of Agra faces the Delhi gate of the fort, and was built in 1644-50; it is a

handsome structure, and bears an inscriptio
cating it to the Princess Jahánárá. In 1
completed the beautifully simple and chas
Masjid or "Pearl Mosque" of Agra, the lovely
of which seem indicative of a European a
1658 is the date assigned to the *Jama Masjid* o
of which Fergusson expresses himself as follow
is raised on a lofty basement, and its three g
and the frontispiece and domes of the mosqu
make up a design where all the parts are pl
subordinated to one another, but at the san
produce a whole of great variety and elegance
is very high praise for a building, and comes
undoubted authority. Nor should the size
enormous group be omitted from consideratio
no cherry-stone carving, but a masonry work
truly Cyclopean. It stands on a masonry terrac
area is 1400 square yards, and is approached
less than thirty-three steps. Three sides of th
rangle are open colonnades; the actual *sanctum*
260 feet by 90 feet, covered by three dom
flanked by two towers, each 130 feet in height
hall of worship is floored with black and white
marking out prayer-places for 899 worshippers
pulpit is said to be cut out of one solid bl
marble.

3. The works of public utility were chie
purposes of irrigation, and for supplying the i
of the city and palace of Delhi with potable
Roads and rest-houses already existed, and
were the only objects remaining to occup
emperor's care. These he undertook on a lavis
as has been already partly described. The s

of Sháhjahán, with improvements due to the ed knowledge and skill of our day, are still le in the modern Jumna canals, which over a ct of country, from the Himalayas to Hissar side, and to the middle of the Duáb on the made the wilderness to bloom, and insured millions of human beings and cattle against g from famine.

se are not the works of a frivolous voluptuary; ne of his successors has yet surpassed the taste and the energetic expenditure of the r Sháhjahán.

financier his talents or his care must have ry considerable. After all the public works of n, and after campaigns in every part of the la, from the frontiers of Golconda to beyond ar, Sháhjahán, at his fall, had his treasury filled rge accumulations of coin, besides bullion and the whole estimated (as we have already seen), hundred and eighty millions sterling.* Judged ntal standards, therefore, this monarch rises far, e the average, and is entitled to a place, if not same step of the temple of fame as Solomon adin, yet not far below.

—Baron Tavernier d'Aubonne, bred an engraver, but afterwards en- Louis Quatorze, was an indefatigable traveller. Between 1651 and three times in India, where he devoted himself chiefly to the col- wels. Without any literary pretensions he kept careful notes, and s translated into English by a Mr. Phillips soon after its publica- opy from which the following extracts are made was published "by y, at the 'Mitre,' in Fleet Street, near Temple Bar," in 1678.

Peacock Throne which he saw in the Diwán Aám of Delhi, he says,

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Elphinstone, however, adopts a far more moderate estimate.

that it was "a little bed, like one of our fieldbeds, six feet long and four broad." It bore one hundred and eight pale rubies, running up to two hundred carats; one hundred and sixty emeralds of less size, the canopy embroidered and fringed with pearls and diamonds; from the top hung a diamond of eighty or ninety carats set in rubies and emeralds, so placed, that when the king was seated it always met his eye. "The twelve pillars" (he says elsewhere "four columns") "were set with pearls, round, and of an excellent water." Round about, the weapons of his majesty were hung, ready for use; two large umbrellas, embroidered and fringed like the great canopy, stood on each hand at the foot of the throne. "This," concludes the baron, "is the famous throne which Tamerlane began and Sháhjahán finished, which is really reported to have cost 160,500,000 *livres* of our money."

The baron gives a hearsay account of the death of Amr Sinh, but he seems to have confounded it with another story, for he makes out two Ránas and two Musalman victims. The following account is taken from the "Sháhjahánáma," a contemporary Persian history:—"On (a date corresponding to) 26th July, A.D. 1644, after sunset in the durbar of the emperor, Amr Sinh *Rathor* killed Salábat Khán, the Mír Bakshi" (paymaster-general), "with a dagger. He was slain, by order of the emperor, by Khallilullah Khán and Arjun. It was ordered that three gentlemen of the bedchamber should convey his body to his own people, who raised a disturbance at the . . . gateway." This was in the Agra Fort, where a gateway still bears the name of Amr Sinh. He had been banished from his own country (Jodhpur) on account of his violent character and gloomy temper.

The baron saw Jahánára leave Agra after her father's death, and supposed that her brother and sister intended to poison her. In a later chapter of his work, however, he admits that she lived many years after, with the title of Sháh Begam, equivalent to "Princess Royal."

His testimony to the state of the people under Sháhjahán is quite opposed to the view for which he is cited as an authority by the modern pessimists. "Sháhjahán," says our baron, "reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children."

"This great king," he is called by Tavernier, "during whose reign there was such a strictness in the civil government, and particularly for the security of the highways, that there was never any occasion to put any man to death for robbery."

Now this is the evidence of one of the best of the European witnesses; one who had been in the country, on and off, for eighteen years of the reign, and who testifies to the union of strictness and indulgence, which must needs form the highest ideal of an absolute sovereign in an eastern country.

The reasoning of Mr. Elphinstone (p. 601) may also be compared. It is his conclusion that "the native historians had good ground for their commendations." But it will be seen that the less unfavourable view of the rule of Sháhjahán does not by any means rest on native testimony alone. Nor is the best native testimony that of a writer who had any motive to flatter Sháhjahán; for Kháfi Khán wrote in the time of Aurangzeb, whose personal *protegé* he was, and

his object would be rather to flatter the son at the expense of the father. Elphinstone judiciously notes that both he and Bernier must be "looked into closely," for they "wrote after Aurangzeb had been successful, and was cried up as the Mussalman hero, and the greatest of emperors." Of Bernier, he observes, that his account is "mixed with anecdotes that look like popular inventions."

CHAPTER VI.

INDIA UNDER AURUNGZE

THE story of the reign of Aurungzeb (or Ala
has been often told; it contains little to our
purpose. The emperor was an exceptional m
very little Chughtai blood in his veins, and ve
of the character of the family; and his long
with its obscure wars and fruitless labours, pr
picture of unstable equilibrium that was neit
nor fall. In the half century of his reign he
more than substitute Moslems for Hindus
species of employment. He also contrived to
the Mahrattas and break down the Pathans' p
whom they were kept in check. But if Aur
with all his virtues and abilities, was not th
ruler Mohamadans suppose, neither was he the
and bloody despot that Hindus are apt to
The means by which he gained his crown w
more nefarious than those practised by many
princes, and apparently countenanced by Ma
And, when once his power was consolid
manifested an unwearied devotion to duty—
it—which only wanted success to make it

If we choose we can see now why he failed. But there is no reason to suppose that his contemporaries in general were different from him except in courage and strength; or that any spectator, either native or European, down to quite the latter part of his reign,* perceived that the empire had entered on a downward path. His power, till near the end of his long life, at least, resembled a mighty arch, which looks eternal, because we do not see the hidden springs which are undermining the foundation of the abutments.

Instead, therefore, of following once more the strenuous idleness of Aurungzeb's toilsome, but wasted career, let us take this time as a point of observation, whence we may briefly examine the rule of the Turks in India in its most elaborate and ameliorated form.

Ever since Voltaire showed how to write history, it has been admitted that courts and camps do not exhaust its purpose. It is a recognised duty now for those who would study the past, to enquire what was the condition of the people in the days with which they deal. But that is unfortunately a subject as to which we have unusually imperfect information in the case of the empire of the Indian Turks. That the house of Taimur usually produced easy-going, jovial, sovereigns is admitted; and even Aurungzeb, though doubtless exceptional, by reason of his austere fanaticism and his unscrupulous use of means when aiming

* It is true that, sharpened by suffering, the Hindus gradually seemed to gain an inkling into the true state of affairs. See the remarkable letter given in Tod's "Rajasthan" as addressed to the emperor about the year 1679 by Rána Ráj Singh, and which, in Keene's "Fall of the Moghul Empire," is wrongly attributed to Jeswant Sinh on the authority of Orme.

at the succession, was not only of a cons
character generally, and very attentive to
but was, for all his latter life at least, oppose
shedding of blood. On the other hand, Be
an account of the country in the early
Aurungzeb's reign, which has been extracte
Wheeler's bright, if somewhat fanciful volu
drawn a far from favourable picture of the
the country under this comparatively excelle
The historians of the time, mostly Mussul
position, are reticent on the subject, not fro
so much as from indifference; and the tradit
one comes upon in conversation with the n
the present day mainly reflect no more than th
of the times presented to persons whose fo
were in possession of rank and wealth. Thes
were limited by nothing but the powers of so
stronger neighbour or colleague.

Still, when one looks at the present con
Turkey and Persia, or the recent condition
one can form some notion of the state of a po
mostly of another creed, subjected to M
dominion.

There are three ways in which admi
chiefly acts upon the domestic life of the adm
These are, 1st, those efforts of authority w
with the criminal passions of men, includi
preventive and punitive; the tribunals and t
2nd, the nature of the revenue, and the
which it is raised; and 3rd, the economy o
tration as shown in sanitation, poor relief, a

* "History of India," vol. iv.

And on these three lines it may be possible to action of the Mughal empire—so far as it can —upon the somewhat inert and undeveloped ities of India. But to realize what those com- were, we must further make abstraction of ffects that we know, or may fairly suppose been produced upon them by a century, more of British rule; a rule professing to follow principles, and to have regard for public as manifested by the civilised world.

First of all, before taking up these matters in would be necessary to recall the fact that, for days yet more than for our own, India was far being one country. If, till quite recent times at could be said with truth that "Italy was a geographical expression," with still more truth could it be said of Turkish India. The emperor might be, in some more or less practical way, the overlord of the peninsula; but there were nations, yes, and crowns too, that were independent, almost as much of him as of each other. And further, the empire was divided into provinces, over some of which the federal sway was seldom anything but loose and light. There was in the first place Hindustan, the "land of the Hindus," round which the Jumna valley was the centre, and either Delhi or Agra the metropolis. Then there was the Dekkan, a province of moveable frontier, roughly corresponding to the modern Presidency of Bombay. Then came the Deccan, to some degree corresponding to "Madras." The "eastern subahs," Bengal, Orissa and Bahar, formed a fourth province. And not only was each of these held by a viceroy who was as independent and disobedient as he dared to be, but

inside of the first were the ancestral chiefships of the unconquered Rájputs; and in the second, divers minor feudatories and imperfectly mediatised rulers; in the third, besides the rising power of the Mahrattas, also felt in Gujarát, were the Pathan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, by whatever names known. The Játs to the north, and the Europeans on the sea-coast were also aiming at independence in their own respective neighbourhoods. All these various ambitions and aspirations would have taxed a more determined centralisation than that of the Chughtai Turks.

Allowances made for these difficulties, the administration was still inadequate, even in regions where the imperial authority was unrivalled and without a limit. To begin with police. It is evident from the testimony of contemporary Europeans, that life and property were not so well protected as in the England of the Stuarts or the France of Richelieu and Colbert. In common with Europe the territories of the Mughals swarmed with petty nobles claiming indefinite powers over their people; while, unlike Europe, it was without strong urban corporations, capable of resisting the still more unscrupulous tyranny of officials insecure in their tenure of office, and anxious to make hay while their precarious sun still shone. In the rural districts, doubtless, an approach to municipal organisation existed in the famous "village system," but it was one which recognised a good deal of internal crime, and positively encouraged predatory habits at the expense of neighbours. Then, more even than now, the life of the peasant, the life of the retainer, the life of the artisan, were squalid, dull, and without horizon. The women

carried loads, or sat in the sun, making cow-dung into cakes of fuel and throwing them against the walls of their cottages to dry; while the men scratched the surface-soil with a wooden coulter in the interval of lifting each other's cattle, or breaking each other's heads. And, whenever a man was killed, his wife was expected to sacrifice herself to his *manes*, and to give her living body to share the cremation of her dead lord. To vary this existence there was an enormous evil, which does not now exist, in the bands of outlaws, discharged soldiers, brigands by profession, and followers of petty chiefs, wandering over the country at free quarters while awaiting the raising of some rebel banner that should summon them to the more organised criminality of civil war. All of these were ready to plunder those who were not strong enough to protect themselves.

In such a state of repression, or rather non-repression, the tribunals would have no easy time of it. Purely civil war, indeed, might not be very much appealed to where men were all armed and habituated to redress their own grievances. But the penal courts would have their hands full, even if they did not enjoy a complicated procedure, and a garrulous bar. These, indeed, were elements of civilisation from which the subjects of the Mughal were free; and perhaps some superficial thinkers may be disposed to envy this portion of their lot. But it must be added that the procedure, if swift, was frightfully one-sided; and that the absence of lawyers in the body of the court was more than balanced by the presence of lawyers on the bench. To understand this we must briefly consider the nature of the code which Aurungzeb undertook to

revive, or to apply with increased rigour among his—for the most part Hindu—subjects.

The penal code of the Moslems has the incurable evil of being derived from revelation. Imagine the Central Criminal Court administering *Leviticus*, and sentencing a costermonger to death for selling oranges on Saturday. Even then but an imperfect idea would be formed of the interfering nature of the legal system of Islam, or of the terrible, though uncertain, severity of its punitive sanctions. And this on the supposition, probably not always justifiable, that the stern casuists of these tribunals were as honest and impartial as they were indifferent to human suffering.

To represent a code of human law as derived from divine authority, is, indeed, to lay on men's shoulders burdens too grievous to be borne. It is, in other words, to bind to the *à priori* standard of a simple age that which ought to be the gradual fruit of experience. Practicable statutes cannot be written for all time in unchangeable characters, however immutable may be the fundamental principles of right and wrong. The moral law may be engraved, once for all, on stone tables; but the details of legislation, as we can plainly see, must, if they are to work well, spring fresh and variable from the varying needs of a society that usually tends to become more and more complicated. But this, which is a truism to us, was a notion of law that was not likely to occur to wanderers in a desert with little knowledge of a world beyond, either past or future, west or east. Accordingly we find, pervading Mohamadan law, a general absence of provision for any conditions of life but those in which it originated,

while, at the same time, its supposed celestial origin made all change a crime and a sacrilege.

Besides regarding all law as a direct emanation from the Deity, the law of Islam regards some crimes as penal because of their being offences against the Divine Majesty. It also classifies offences according to whether they are punishable by (1) retaliation; (2) statutory penalties; or (3) discretion of the magistrate. Under the first came offences against the human body, including murder, where the prosecutor was *dominus litis*, and might accept or remit the price of blood. Under the second were ranged offences against property, drinking wine and committing adultery; these latter being offences against God, could not be compounded. The third included punishments — extending from riding backwards on a donkey, to death or mutilation —for offences as to which there was a doubt regarding the class to which they might belong. And murder was not only regarded practically as less heinous than drinking, but its definition depended not on the intention to cause death, but on the instrument employed. As to procedure, the like eccentricity prevailed. Approvers were not recognised, nor was the evidence of one witness, under any circumstances, sufficient. In the testimony of witnesses the most absurd technicalities existed, as in that question, on which the Sheikhs so much differ, as to whether or not it is a condition of testimony that the witness should say, "It is incumbent on this defendant that he should shorten his hand."

The trial opened with the praises of God; the judge was bound to invoke the guidance of the Almighty in a set form before pronouncing sentence.

No wonder that Lord Cornwallis spoke of "the gross defects" of a system of law under which such hairs were pivots. The forms were only variable according to the method or statement of the claim or charge. Compensatory punishment might be inflicted where there was no criminal intention.

But enough has been said on an unattractive subject to show that the penal code of Islam (even when firmly enforced) was not altogether calculated to act as a source of happiness to the people of the country. But there were other ways in which an alien race would be certain to suffer from the workings of a system formulated by an apostle and interpreted by commentators. Notably was this the case with those laws that affected the realization of the revenue. This will be readily understood by Europeans. The disorders and disasters of the old French monarchy are nearly all traced by de Tocqueville and other modern writers to the inequality and unreasonableness of the fiscal system; and the same faults lay at the bottom of Aurungzeb's reforms. Without accusing this eminent statesman of blind fanaticism, it is evident to us that he aimed at orthodoxy in his measures, and that he sought to conform in all things to the type formed in his own mind from the ideas of Islám.

The latitudinarian Akbar had followed a quite different system. Discarding the legal fiction of the State's ownership of the soil (familiar in the East from time immemorial), he confined his demand to a share of the produce. This he took in kind, so far as the poorer crops were concerned, making a decennial settlement, according to the prices ruling on an average during that period, upon those lands which

yielded the more valuable commercial products, cotton, sugar, and the like. The total sum collected in this manner is estimated by Mr. E. Thomas at over sixteen millions a year from the fifteen provinces into which the empire was then divided. In addition he estimates the pay of the militia to have fallen on the provinces, so as to cost an aggregate of nearly twenty millions more. And there were then two large independent kingdoms of the Deccan which are not brought upon Akbar's rolls. In raising the revenue in this simple manner, Akbar had remitted the odious *jizya*, and all other miscellaneous imposts of which no less than thirty-eight items are enumerated.*

This system, more or less faithfully administered, continued to prevail under the two next emperors. But when Aurungzeb ascended the throne won by his boldness and lack of scruple, he seems to have thought himself bound to make atonement by a resolute attempt to purify the government according to the lights of Islam. The following extracts from a work based on his records will show what these were:—

"The *khiraj* is closely connected in origin with another tax or impost on the produce of land called the *ooshr* or tithe, and they are commonly treated of under one head by the writers on the Mahomedan law. The *ooshr*, however, is a branch of a more general impost called the *zukat*, which is applicable to charitable purposes. The first chapter of the following selections treats of the *ooshr* and *khiraj* conjointly. In the second the *ooshr* is considered, with reference to its nature as the *zukat* on fruits and crops. The third contains some extracts relating to the original imposition of the *ooshr* and *khiraj* upon different lands. These two imposts are taxes on the productive energies of the soil, but some things below

* "The Revenue Resources of the Mogul Empire." London, 1871.

its surface are liable to the deduction of a fifth. Accordingly the fourth chapter treats of the *khooms*, or fifth, on metals and buried treasures. It is the proprietor of the land who is liable for the *ooshr* and *khiraj*, and in most cases for the *khooms*; the question of proprietorship in the land is thus of great collateral importance. The fifth chapter shows how the proprietorship of waste land is acquired by bringing it into cultivation. But a proprietor is not always in possession of his own land, and the possessor of it may sometimes be confounded with him. The last chapter, therefore, treats of a peculiar contract called *moozâraut*, by which the relations of proprietor and possessor, or landlord and tenant as they would be called by us, have been commonly regulated in Mahomedan countries.

* * * * * *

"The law on the subject may be briefly summed up as follows:—It is founded on a supposed obligation of all mankind to embrace what is called the true religion, or submit to the 'believers,' and the counter obligation of the true believers to war upon all men to the last extremity until they adopt one or other of these alternatives. Before commencing a war for this purpose, it is the duty of the Imam or head of the Mooslim community to invite the inhabitants of the country which he is about to invade, to embrace the true religion, and without this formality the war is unlawful. If they accept the invitation, they are to be treated in all respects like other Mooslims, and the *ooshr*, as a matter of course, is imposed upon their lands. If they reject the invitation, they are next to be called upon to submit to the *jizya* or capitation-tax, and become subjects of the Mooslim power. If they accept these terms, they are admitted to the condition of *zimmi*, or infidel subjects, and are left free to the profession of their own religion, but the *khiraj* is imposed upon their lands. The idolaters of Arabia were excepted from their indulgence, and were called upon absolutely to embrace the faith, with the only alternative of the sword for their men, slavery for their women and children." The *jizya*, in fact, was a capitation-tax imposed on the *zimmi*, who was the subject of a Mooslim power, but professing a different religion. Submission to the *jizya* involves submission to the *khiraj* also. The leading principle in all cases is still religion, which requires that unbelievers should pay the capitation-tax in addition to the *khiraj* on their lands, while the faithful are generally liable for the *ooshr* only; the *jizya* was also known

as the *khiraj* of the person, and the *khiraj*, in like manner, was sometimes called the *jizya* of the land."

The above abstract is taken from an English edition of the "Fatáwá Alamgírí," or, "Institutes of Aurungzeb," by Mr. N. B. E. Baillie. Appended to the work is a decree issued by that monarch which shows how completely he had departed from the baser policy of the predecessors. The *firmán* is dated in A.D. 1688, and appears to have been addressed direct from "the Home Office" to the provincial *Diwáns* or accountants. It begins by reciting that it has always been his majesty's great desire to rule according "to the laws prescribed by the most excellent of created beings," (Mohamad) and therefore he takes the opportunity to inform the revenue officials throughout his dominions "on all points concerning the tribute, as to the quantity and mode directed in the enlightened law of the bright and pure religion. . . . They shall not require an annual renovation of this edict; but may assure themselves that any deviation therefrom will make them liable to temporal and eternal punishment."

When revenue regulations were thus framed and sanctioned it is not to be supposed that the people were altogether happy in their operation. But whether they paid only the *khiraj* or land-tax of one-third to one-sixth of their gross produce—or whether they also paid a capitation-tax, made a difference in their burdens of about cent. per cent. The land revenue in the palmy days of the reign, is shown to have risen to double that raised by Akbar (besides about five millions more from the conquered kingdoms of the Deccan). So that there appears good reason to believe,

that at one time (on paper at least) the total revenues of Aurungzeb were eighty millions of p sterling, a sum which, comparing the purc power of money in those days with what it ha must be many times as much as the British G ment and the native states subordinate to it no altogether. It is not wonderful if the imposit the *jizya* was resented by Aurungzeb's Hind jects as a duplication of their imposts no less t a badge of subjection to a foreign yoke.

On the general administration, especially in r to famine relief and the control of epidemic information is not sufficient to throw the ligh want. But it is evident that the impulses of a con quering horde were not of themselves a guarantee fo due care being taken of unrepresented and almo unresisting subjects. The Chughtais meant well. I every province were news-writers appointed by t Government, whose duty it was to keep the cen authorities aware of what went on under the su ordinate governments.

"Those persons," says Bernier, "whom the Mogul sends the provinces to write to him whatever passes there do a little k the officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (a almost always happens) to devour all. As also, the governm are not there so often sold, nor so openly, as in Turkey . . the governors ordinarily remain longer in their governments, w makes them not so hungry, so beggarly, so deeply in debt, and consequently they do not always tyrannise over the with so much cruelty, even apprehending that they shou away to the rajas, which yet falls out very often."

It was Bernier's opinion, after an extensive of Eastern lands, that in all the marks of civili

n Mughals excelled the European Turks by
of their Persian element, but that the absence
se of secure ownership in property—especially
and—was ruining the social system in both
ountries, and in Persia likewise. And not only
property both in India and in Turkey to a
egree, has become secure without immediate and
social progress following — but the extreme
tainty of the climate must very greatly have
sed industry when no regular provision was
against it. Bad sanitation, small-pox, malarious
r, must have spread frightful evils. Beasts of
, even now very abundant in some parts of the
, must have devastated villages bordering on
tracts, which were then numerous and exten-
The traveller who escaped from the tiger fell
ften into the hands of the Thug; children saved
wolves were stripped of their little ornaments
strangled by human beings not less cruel and
cious.

These and other signs of maladministration shocked
He addressed Colbert, on his return from
, in a long letter upon "the extent of the country,
circulation of gold and silver, the riches, forces,
justice, and the cause of the decay of the States
ia." In this he asserts that "throughout these
" (Asia generally) "we see almost no other
but (what are) made up of mud and dirt,
ng but ruined villages, or such as are going to
" He is not speaking here exclusively of India,
mentions in the same paragraph Mesopotamia,
Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. He also allows
ia and India were both more prosperous than

Turkey, having large metropolitan cities where
factures were carried on and trades practis
where, as he repeatedly observes, justice was a
tered under the especial supervision of the I
Government. The entire testimony of Berni
not be transcribed here; it will be found—or at le
the more unfavourable portion will be found
stracted at the end of Mr. Wheeler's volume al
cited. But it is necessary to make two observ
regarding the letter in which this testimony is
1st, it was written for the evident purpose of pl
Colbert, and showing what a happy people the Fre
were under his administration; 2nd, Bernier
undertaken a particular thesis, viz., to prove that
assertion of the State's ownership in land was fatal
the progress of society.

Now, on each of these subjects there is so
allowance evidently due. It will probably be admi
that France, with its *taillés* and *corvées*, was
particularly happy in the concluding reigns of
house of Bourbon. And it must also be granted
the theory of the State's ultimate rights in the so
one that has at no time been abandoned by Europ
jurists; that it is still constantly eulogised in pra
among civilised communities, and that it is still
the bottom of a part of the fiscal system of Eu
where society is certainly not unprogressive, no
cultivating class unprosperous. It is not, then
the mere assertion of an ultimate dominion o
land for public benefit that is fatal, but the
limited character of the demand, and the uncon
expenditure of the income.

From another portion of the letter we

Turkish element in the Indian administration only alleviated by Persian influences but was neutralised by the necessity of employing and native Mussulmans as a counterpoise to rsians. Sháhjáhan, for example, owed his to the Pathan general, Mahábat Khán (who Indianised that Tod represents him as a ted Rájput), and the proportion of Hindus the grandees of that reign was larger than the eclectic Akbar.

complete this sketch of the social system of me, a brief notice of these grandees, or peers, be here appropriate. The generic term he higher officials was *mansabdar*; the word meaning, conventionally, a military post of conferred by imperial patent; and the *man-rs* (holders of *mansabs*) being graded according force of men-at-arms that they were supposed intain. Those above the grade of "five-hundred" distinguished as *amirs*, or "lords," and the est grade of all—above "five thousand"—was ved for princes of the blood. Of the ranks een these two limits there were 580 nobles, of about one-fifth were Hindus. In the days of r they received large salaries, out of which they probably expected to provide, at least, the imum number of men appropriate to their grade; o a proportionate number of elephants, horses, ls, carts, etc. The chief grandee was called *amir-ra* or "lord of the lords."

far, then, these nobles formed a sort of military ge, like the paladins of Charles the great, or the pleonic marshals. But there were special limita-

tions. In the first place, no Mohamadan system contemplates hereditary grandeur. A water-carrier has often, in the East, risen to the command of the army to whose wants he ministered; an able palace slave has become in his turn a sovereign. The sons of deceased *amirs* would no doubt have some claims to employment, but they would not obtain at once their father's *mansabs*. They would begin life, as their fathers had done, as *ahadis*, or unattached cavaliers, with, perhaps, a slender following, which it would be their object to increase, gradually, by doing good service. Their father's property, too, was regarded as official rather than personal, and escheated to the crown by death. If the sons, on entering life, received a small allowance until they had obtained lucrative employment, that was as much as they could expect. Bernier gives us the following details as to the position of the grandees as he saw it in the early years of Aurungzeb's reign:—

"The emperor determines the number of horses in actual service which they are bound to entertain; and it is this which, ordinarily, makes their chief income besides what they can appropriate. . . . For I saw that the noble, under whom I was—who was a *panj-hazári*, or one of five thousand horse—and who was obliged to entertain five hundred [horses] in effect had, after all his cavalry was paid, a balance of five thousand crowns" (rupees?) "a month."

He adds that this noble was paid in cash out of the Treasury, but seems to think that those made larger profits who were paid by grants of land. On this point no statistics are available; but it is presumable that the system of territorial assignments was one that became more and more usual, inasmuch as minor fiefs swelling into so many hereditary principa-

lities, did, in fact, help in the final disruption of the empire.

Of these grandees twenty-five were expected to be in waiting daily. The minor *mansabdars*, who were not *amirs*, were dispensed from regular attendance at council or *levée*, but were obliged to be present at all musters and parades; their pay ranged from 200 to 700 rupees a month. The pay of an *ahadi* or single cavalier was from twenty-five rupees a month and upwards, according to the number of his horses, all of which bore the government brand and were ridden by his men.

The artillery was numerous and divided into light and heavy. Under earlier emperors the gunners had been mostly Europeans or Indian Portuguese; but Aurungzeb, consistently with his high-flown orthodoxy, replaced these with Mussalmans, thereby introducing, as we can hardly doubt, another element of decay into his power.

Having dwelt so much upon the bad impression made on Bernier by the condition of the country, it will be proper, in conclusion, to quote the more favourable report of Signor Manucci, a contemporary European, with similar opportunities and fewer prepossessions—

"Nothing can possibly be more uniform than the administration of justice in the States of the Mogul. The viceroys, the governors of provinces, the chiefs of the cities and towns, perform precisely in the place of their appointment (subject always to the emperor), the part acted by that [great] Mogul in Agra or in Delhi. They alone administer justice, and decide causes which concern the property and life of the subject."

He adds that there was, in every considerable place, a

kotwál, or provost marshal, to look after the police; and a *kázi*, or ecclesiastical judge, for religious and matrimonial causes. Power of life and death was vested in governors alone. Justice was administered promptly. Procedure was simple. Perjury and corruption were capital charges. "All that can be done to remedy those evils is effected by this legal severity. Unjust decisions are a universal grievance," as he sagaciously remarks, which, as in other countries, "tediousness of procedure does not always correct." Beaumarchais discovered this in France a century later.*

"Such," concludes the Italian doctor, "are the institutions of this great empire. They have not been represented as free from defect, but exhibiting, rather, a State in which barbarism is so qualified by the equity which pervades the administration as to render the government of the Mogul empire little inferior to that of any other nation."

That is what it was in the earlier years of the reign at least; barbarism tempered by equity; the rude vigour of the Tartar camp, regulated by Persian manners, and the laws of Arabia—the apogee of the Indian Turk.

Manucci ends his account with a personal tribute of admiration for the ability and energy of Aurungzeb, a monarch of whom even prejudiced Bernier, is constrained to speak well at last. In finishing another of his works—the "History of the late Revolution"—the latter says: "I am persuaded that those who will a little weigh this whole story will not take Aurungzeb

* Compare the Persian proverb—"Swift wrong is better than tardy right." Bernier cites this adage.

for a barbarian, but for a great and rare genius, a great statesman, and a great king."

It is noticeable that the weakness and final decline of the Chughtai empire were not prepared so visibly in the spendthrift *insouciance* or ostentatious ceremonial of the early emperors, as in the orthodox administration of this Moslem revivalist, the son of a Persian lady, who lived on the proceeds of his own manual labour. Nevertheless, we may gather from the history of other Mohamaden monarchies that the really fatal element of weakness was Tartar, and not Arab. Bagdad fell before violence from without; Cordova and Granada yielded to Gothic patriotism; in neither case is there any proof of inherent evils caused by religion. For anything we can see, a wise ruler succeeding Sháhjáhan might have consolidated the empire had it not been previously relaxed by the habits of a Turkish camp inappropriately applied to the affairs of a vast and heterogeneous empire. Still, there can be no doubt that when the empire had become what it was, the restless fanaticism of Aurungzeb precipitated the catastrophe. A few personal traits that have been preserved by contemporaries help to explain his character. After his accession he adopted, according to Tavernier, a diet of the utmost asceticism, by way of penance for the crimes by which he had obtained the throne. He removed the Princess Jahánárá—or the *Begam Sahiba*—from Agra to Delhi after the death of Sháhjáhan; but it was not, as our baron thought at the time, to poison, but to befriend and promote her. The now mature spinster was created *Sháh Begam*—or "princess royal,"—and lived for many years on a handsome establishment in the palace.

In A.D. 1661 he followed the custom of his house in obtaining a native bride for his ultimate successor, marrying Sultán Muazzam to the daughter of Rája Rup Sinh. In A.D. 1666, at the intercession of Jai Sinh I., the "Mirza Raja" of Amber, he pardoned and received the rebellious Mahratta Siváji. On a misunderstanding that ensued, the suspicious Mahratta left the metropolis in disguise; but the emperor did not alter his favour to Jai Sinh, who was an *amir* of the highest grade, and constantly employed in offices and enterprises of the greatest trust. In the following year (10th July, 1667), Jai Sinh dying on service, a viceroy of the Deccan,* Prince Muazzam, was nominated to the vacant command. About the same period the emperor reformed the calendar, abolishing the Persian computation, and substituting for the era of Yezdegird the *Hijri* era, with its lunar years. He issued edicts against the fine arts, as tending to frivolity and irreligion; but the singers, actors, and dancers offered a curious rebuke. There was in the Mughal palaces a balcony at which the emperor was expected to show himself daily to all passengers at an appointed hour. One day Aurungzeb, being in his ordinary place there, saw a funeral going on upon the *glacis* beneath, and sent to ask whose it was. The performers below sent back for answer that it was Music that was dead, and that they (her servants) were burying her. "By all means," cried the sovereign, with austere humour, "and see that you

* Tod, who can see no good in Aurungzeb, states that the raja was poisoned by his son, at the instigation of the emperor. No evidence is offered, and such insinuations are too easy to be accepted without proof.—*Vide* Professor Blochmann, "Calcutta Review," No. 104, p. 334.

bury her deep, so that no sound ever reaches me from the grave." His next step was to close up the window, and he never again appeared there to the multitudes to whom the *darsan* had been so long an institution and an event.

About 1679 died Sivaji (whose death the Moslem chronicler commemorates in the uncomplimentary chronogram, "the infidel went to hell"), and an almost equally formidable opponent, Rája Jaswant Sinh, the head of the Jodpur Ráthors was removed soon after. A disturbance in those territories followed, which formed the occasion for imposing the hateful *jizya* upon the Hindus. Also, about this time—say nearly midway in the reign—the employment of Hindus in high offices almost ceased, each vacant post in turn being given to Moslems, mostly foreigners. An expedition overran Rajputána, and a general destruction of Hindu temples and persecution of the faith of the people followed. The reply of the Rájputs was a rebellion, in the course of which the emperor's fourth son, Sultán Akbar, was set up by them as his father's competitor. It was an ill-planned movement; and the young man had not the stability of character requisite to justify his being chosen for so dangerous a post. He took flight, and fled to Persia in 1682; and in that country he died about the same year as his father.

It was during this rebellion that a chief of the unconquered state of Udaipur wrote the emperor the famous letter contrasting his unwise bigotry with the clement and tolerant habits of his imperial ancestors. In 1685-6 the old Pathan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda fell before the obstinate hostility of the

Mughals, and with them fell, as soon appeared, the last breakwater against the tide of Mahratta boldness. Soon after the Játs broke out for the first time. To the same period Kháfi Khán assigns the issuing of an edict, forbidding Hindus to ride Arab horses, or be carried in litters.

Disputes with the English of Bombay, with the Mahrattas, and with the princes his sons, troubled the remainder of Aurungzeb's long reign. The spirit of the old man never failed him; and it is not possible, amidst our censure of his central error, to withhold admiration of this keen, earnest ruler, even when his personal repose was vexed by the misconduct of his offspring, or his camp insulted by the menaces of the indefatigable foe.

At length the body, rather than the mind, gave way. To the last appeared that singular remorsefulness of character that was Aurungzeb's constant quality. How the voice of conscience — so often stifled in extreme old age — rings through his last letters to his sons. To one he writes:—"The instant passed in power has left only sorrow behind. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My precious time has been spent vainly. . . ." To another—"I depart, and carry with me the fruit of my sins. . . . I came alone, alone I go. . . . Wherever I look I see nothing but God. . . . I have committed numerous crimes, and I know not with what torments they may be punished. . . . The guardianship of the people is the trust by God committed to my sons."

These cries uttered from a death-bed show anything but a careless soul, or an ordinary standard of self-

examination. We ought, in charity, to accept them as symptoms of the inherent disposition of him whose conscience was so sensitive at the age of ninety.

Aurungzeb died at Ahmadnagar, on Feb. 21, A.D. 1707. His misfortunes are attributed by Mussalmans to his dislike of bloodshed, and his lenience towards his enemies.

An excellent account of the transactions of Aurungzeb's reign, and a most able estimate of his very peculiar character will be found in the admirable "History of India," by Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone. The general conclusion is the same as here—namely, that when a lax and puerile administration has introduced into a great empire the elements of weakness and disruption, their action is rapidly precipitated by the accession of a cold, narrow-minded, suspicious, centralising egotist. Had Aurungzeb succeeded Akbar he would have done less mischief; had Bahádur Sháh succeeded Sháhjahán he would have postponed the catastrophe. As things happened the carefulness of one ruler was as fatal as the levity of the other; and the qualities of each combined in unhappy co-operation, like two compounds whose chemical union makes a deadly poison.

It cannot be too often recollected that the failure of Aurungzeb, though connected with his religious tenets and convictions, is not so much a failure of Islam as it is a failure of over government. He failed much in the same way as Louis XIV. failed in France, and as any rulers will fail who try to make their personal feelings the measure of their subjects' rights. When such a method is applied to an empire in which the outlying provinces have a good deal of lawless

independence it is all the more conspicuous. If Louis XIV. could have preceded Louis XI. there would probably be no such nation in Europe as what we now call "France."

The testimony of the well-known historian, Kháfi Khán—a favourite of the emperor—is also deserving of peculiar attention. He attributed much of Aurungzeb's ill-success to the gentleness of his disposition. He particularly notes, so far back as the second year of the reign, that the emperor ordered the remission of many imposts, notably the *pándari*, or town dues, and the tithe on wheat. He sent men of his own body-guard into the provinces to see that these remissions were carried out. But by reason of the impunity that attended disobedience, the local governors generally revived the forbidden imposts for their own advantage as soon as the imperial emissaries took their departure. From the whole record it may fairly be concluded that the emperor was one of those men who combine a hot head with a cold heart; and having all the courage and ambition to achieve greatness lacks the unscrupulousness by which alone absolute power can be permanently supported.

In regard to what has been said in the text of our ignorance of the actual state of the people (especially as to dearths and scarcities), it is generally true that there is silence among the chroniclers of Mughal India. But we know that there was one very severe famine in the time of Aurungzeb, which was described by Kháfi Khán, probably from actual observation. He says that in 1660 a terrible drought took place, by reason of which many districts went entirely to waste, and crowds of their inhabitants made their way to Delhi in search of employment and relief. The measures of the emperor were both active and judicious. He opened soup-kitchens for the poor, encouraged the movement of grain by remitting transit duties, and largely suspended the collection of the

revenue in general. It has been stated by a modern authority that he applied large accumulations from his well-husbanded finances to the relief of want, and that the foresight and administrative ability thus shown caused the area of this famine to be much less extensive than that of the famine thirty years earlier.—"Report on Past Famines."—N. W. P. Allahabad: 1868.

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CHAPTER VII.

DECAY AND DISINTEGRATION.

LIKE most important institutions, the Chughtai, or "Mughal" Empire of India, had a beginning, a middle, and an end. The beginning, under the jovial adventurer who came from Furghána with his booted followers, a mixture of knight-errant and boon companion; King Cole in the panoply of Don Quixote. The middle, in the prime of the sumptuous Sháhjahán, when the Táj was first seen to glisten against the pale sky of an Indian noon, and when visitors from Europe gazed in wonder on the almost fabulous prodigality of the levées in the *am khás*. The end, when Sháh Álam, a blind and half-starved pensioner, received Lord Lake under a tattered awning in that deserted area, and passed from the hands of a French jailor into those of a British "Resident."

But as there was a period of consolidation between the first adventure and the mature glory, so there was a period of weakness and a lapse between the glory and the fall. The emperor was still the fountain of honour, the asylum of the universe; only the fountain was throwing muddy streams on an unweeded

garden, and the asylum was harbouring nothing but wild beasts and proclaimed offenders.

Naturally, the steps from one period to another were not sharply defined to the eyes of bystanders, and even now, in looking back upon them, one observes gradations like those by which one colour passes into the next upon a rainbow. The reign of Aurungzeb might appear to have been a time of recovery if it had not been a time of falling; and the accounts of his death that have been preserved do not show any feelings of despondency as to the future of his empire in the mind of the dying despot. Nor was the character or the position of his successor by any means such as to give rise to any immediate alarm among those well-wishers of the State who survived their sovereign. The emperor still gave audience, and redressed grievances, seated on the peacock throne; and the rulers of all the provinces of the peninsula were still either his vassals or his officials. But the air was full of change. As Tod says:—

"It is important to study the events of this period, which involved the overthrow of the Mogul power and originated that form of society which paved the way to the dominion of Britain in these distant regions. From such a review a political lesson of great value may be learned which will show a beacon, warning us against the danger of trusting to mere physical power unaided by the latent, but more durable support of moral influence. When Aurungzeb neglected the indigenous Rajpoots he endangered the key-stone of his power, and in despising opinion, though his energetic mind might for a time render him independent of it, yet, long before his death, the enormous fabric reared by Akbar was tottering to its foundation."

Tod admits, however, "the virtues of Bahadoor, the son and successor of the fanatic tyrant," and "the

short lustre of his sway." Let us take a note of the circumstances of his accession, and the events of his brief reign.

The members of Aurungzeb's family, of whom contemporary history makes mention, were the following; as recorded in the "Alamgir-náma."

1. MOHAMAD SULTÁN (who was the agent employed in dethroning Sháhjahán). His mother (the "Nuwáb Bai") was a Kashmirián, professedly of the Sáyyid class, though partly of Hindu extraction.* He was born in 1049, Hijri (the thirteenth year of the reign of his grandfather), and died at the age of thirty-eight lunar years, in the nineteenth year of his father's reign.

2. MUAZZAM, afterwards called "Sháh Álam" (who eventually ascended the throne, by the title of BAHÁDUR SHÁH), was the son of the same mother, and was four years younger than the last, on whose death he appears to have considered himself heir-apparent.

3. ÁZAM, the offspring of the emperor's second wife, a Persian lady, was ten years younger than the last, having been born in 1063, Hijri, while his father was still a trusted lieutenant of the empire, with hands unstained with fraternal blood.

4. AKBAR was the son of the same mother, four years younger than the last. In spite of his purely Mussalman blood, he associated himself with the Rajputs, and rebelled, with the aid of Mewar, soon after the death of his eldest brother.

5. KÁM-BAKSH, son of a Rajputin—said by Tod to

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* *Vide* Note at end of chapter.

have been the son of a Jodpuri lady, not "Udipuri"—was born in 1077, Hijri, when his father had been many years upon the throne.

Besides these there were five daughters, one born as late as 1116 Hijri.

Mohamad Sultán, having died during his father's lifetime, was saved from the coming troubles; but the first signs of them followed hard upon his death. The second son, Muazzam, had been appointed Subhadár (governor) of the Deccan in A.D. 1667, when he was no more than a young man of twenty-seven, and remained there for the next twelve years. About the end of A.D. 1677, not long after Mohamad's death, and when the prudent Rajput, Jeswant Sinh, had also passed away, the rebellious chiefs of Rajputána proposed to set up the fourth son Akbar, a lad of twenty; and created such confusion that Muazzam had to be sent for from the Deccan and his next brother Ázam from Bengal. Ázam came up with all possible speed, making four months' marches into one; but the gentle elder wrote to his erring brother, and perhaps prepared his mind for ultimate submission. This, with some earlier occurrences, led to the growth of suspicions of Muazzam on the part of the emperor, his father, and a severe letter of reproof and advice was accordingly received by the prince.

But the event soon justified him, though it was not until the imperial forces had sustained a serious defeat that Muazzam was once more summoned to join the head quarters. He obeyed instantly and joined his sire by forced marches, bringing with him his two sons.

A trait like this—which is furnished by an excel-

lent contemporary authority, Kháfi Khán—shows the mild and honest nature of the future sovereign. But Sultan Muazzam had yet much to go through before he could attain to that eminence.

An animated, though partisan, narrative of the rebellion will be found in Tod's "Rájasthan," "Annals of Marwar." It is there stated, that it was on this occasion that the famous letter was written to Aurungzeb, in which the Hindus justified their hostility by contrasting the persecuting tyranny then prevailing, with the tolerant administration of the earlier Mughal emperors. Tod ascribes the defection of Prince Akbar, to a feeling of compassion and sympathy with "the gallant bearing of the Rajpoots in this unequal combat," alleging, that so late as A.D. 1681, the prince and Tahavar Khán (or "Tyber," as he calls him), had been fighting on the imperial side, for which they gained a great victory at Nadol. But he admits that "ambition came to the aid of compassion," which is very evident, for Akbar assumed the rights of sovereignty while with the Rájputs, and coined money in his own name; but he seems to have shown as much haste in retreating as he had evinced precipitancy in aggression, and he was, ere long, in full flight, followed—though without much eagerness—by his brother. He (Muazzam) was next detached into the Konkan, where he conducted a successful inroad into a then almost inaccessible country. From thence, he was sent to attempt the conquest of what was then called Telingana, afterwards "the Nizam's country," of early English warfare. Hence he turned towards Bijapur, a kingdom then enjoying an independent existence under a native Mussalman king,

named Abu'l Hassan, where a competent general, Khalilullah, was in command of the armies. Muazzam advanced towards Haidarábád (which was then the capital of the enemy), and offered terms, in accordance with his character; but they were rejected, and a force was sent against Khalilullah, under the command of Khánjahán Kokaltash, whose efforts met with considerable success. Muazzam, also, after an action of three days, gained an indecisive victory; and about this time received from his father the title of "Sháh Álam," by which he continued to be known till his accession. Haidarábád submitted; but Aurungzeb had once more to censure his son's clemency. "He made," says Kháfi, "no outward change in the prince's rank and allowances, or in the honours due to him as heir apparent, but his estrangement daily increased."

Nothing, however, could divert the prince from the exercise of his constitutional goodness. On further reports of his favour to the hostile, but now ruined sovereign, Abu'l Hassan, Sháh Álam was once more summoned to the emperor's presence, a call which, though supported by the army, the prince immediately obeyed. On this occasion his fiefs were sequestrated, and even his family subjected to indignity. He himself remained, for more than seven years in close arrest. During this interval, his brother, Ázam Sháh (who was, by blood, a pure Mussalman) commanded as the emperor's lieutenant, and obtained great ascendency over his father. In A.D. 1695 Sháh Álam was liberated: affairs were going ill with the emperor, and the talents of the mild prince were apparently missed. Though much against the will of his brother

Ázam, Sháh Álám was sent to Agra, where his duty was to coerce the Játs, a rising tribe of freebooters.

After a short time the prince was appointed Governor of Cabul, where he appears to have remained in the quiet discharge of his office for about ten years. In the latter part of A.D. 1705, the emperor being very old and weak at Ahmadnagar, Ázam presented himself at Court, making no account of his eldest brother, and assuming the attitude of an acknowledged heir. On the 21st February, 1707, the old despot breathed his last, without having made any definite arrangements for the succession. Ázam immediately assumed the crown, and marched upon Agra. Sháh Álám, on his part, was not idle, but marched from Cabul to Lahore where he effected a junction with his trusted deputy in the Panjab, Munim Khán. At the same time, the eldest son of Sháh Álám was sent to occupy the fort at Agra. The action of the pretender was crippled by unpopularity arising from his avarice, and by the rivalry of his son Bedar Bakht, who was in immediate command of the army. Meanwhile, Sháh Álam, at the head of a considerable army of hardy northern warriors, and with a powerful artillery, had advanced on Delhi, which at once submitted to him, and where he found considerable treasure. His next halt was at Muttra, whence he sent a conciliatory message to Ázam, proposing an equal partition of the empire. It rests on the authority of Irádat Khán, a confidential equerry of Bedar Bakht, that this only increased the arrogance and resolution of Ázam, who rejected the overtures and rapidly advanced. He crossed the Chambal and encountered his elder

brother at Jajau, about halfway between Dholpur and Agra, on the 10th of June, 1707.

The following description of the battle is taken principally from the narrative of Irádat, who informs us that he only relates matters of which he was an eye-witness.

While the armies were yet separated by an interval of some miles, the baggage of Sháh Álam was captured by an advanced detachment of the enemy. Flushed by this slight success, Bedar Bakht hastily assumed that his uncle had fled, and he marched up the right bank of the Jumna in loose order. Suddenly a vast cloud of dust appeared on his right, in the direction of Fatihabád near the river, the scene of Dára's defeat more than half a century before. This time the luck was to be changed. The sons of Sháh Álam opened a long front out of the cloud, and hurled upon the advancing forces a tempest of artillery and small arms, in which Bedar Bakht fell. Still pressing on they continued to slaughter their bewildered and disorganised opponents. A large part of the army fled, but the headquarters stood firm till Ázam himself was struck by a musket ball, and decapitated —probably with his own sword—by the commander of the baggage-guard captured in the morning. He then carried the severed head to the conqueror; but Sháh Álam, instead of conferring upon him the expected reward, shed genuine tears over his brother's dishonoured countenance and dismissed the murderer with reproaches. The body, with that of Bedar, was sought for, and both were interred with respect,*

* Their sepulchres, with many others, are in the grand cemetery of their house, in Humáyun's mausoleum at Delhi.

all tenderness being bestowed upon their helpless families.

The honest soldier, Irádat Khán, who fought zealously on the opposite side, yet bears warm testimony to the virtue and prudence displayed by the prince during this trying period. He was generous and merciful, we are told—of a great soul, tempered by affability, and discernful of merit. He had watched the administrations of his father and grandfather, and had been used to affairs himself for nearly half a century. "It is a fact," adds this writer, "that the deserving, whatever their calling or degree, received an unprecedented attention from the throne."

The first step of Sháh Álam, on the day succeeding the victory of Jajau, was to visit Munim Khán, who received the titles of Khán Khánán, and "Faithful Friend," with a gratuity valued at a million sterling: he was also appointed *vazir*, or prime minister of the empire. Sháh Álam himself ascended the throne at Agra under the title of BAHÁDUR SHÁH; several of his late competitor's principal friends, were at the same time appointed to high office.

Munim Khán at once instituted some wholesome reforms; while the new emperor, in spite of his already advancing years, displayed a sumptuousness which caused his court to rival the memory of Sháh-jahán's. Seventeen of his sons and nephews sate around the throne, while a little farther off stood the sons of conquered princes. The platform between the silver rails was crowded with nobles, to whom the emperor frequently distributed gifts. "How," cried Irádat, "can I describe every particular of this splendid scene?" Tod, judging from the Hindu

point of view is equally encomiastic; saying that the Emperor Bahádur Sháh had many qualities that endeared him to the Rajputs; and, adding that, "had he immediately succeeded the beneficent Sháhjahán, the house of Taimur, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi." Like Sháhjahán too, Bahádur was almost a pure Hindustani, and might have looked for Rajput support on patriotic grounds. But the bigotry of Aurungzeb had weakened the loyalty of every Hindu; and the lessons of rebellion learned in that bad school could not be so soon forgotten.

The Hindus have received in general parlance the epithet of "mild;" and, so far as the want of enterprise, engendered by a warm climate and a vegetable diet may go, the epithet is not inappropriate. But they worship jealous and cruel gods, and are by no means wanting in a perverse spirit of smouldering fanaticism that sometimes blazes into a dangerous and destructive flame. So long as Aurungzeb was strong, this feeling had been kept under, but it was now in full and general activity. Mention has been already made of the turbulence of the Rajputs and of the marauding propensities of the Játs; a new Hindu power was forming in the Punjab which was destined to become of more importance than either.

Nevertheless, it was not from open enemies like the Hindus that Bahádur Sháh's first troubles were to arise. His foes were still of his own household. Mohamad Kám Baksh has been already named as the fifth son of Aurungzeb, and by a Hindu mother. At the time of his elder brother's accession he was commanding in the province of Bijapur, whither he had

been sent with many marks of confidence by the late emperor. Irádat Khán, who was so well acquainted with the princes, records that Kám Baksh had an excellent memory, with many literary gifts and accomplishments, but was withal flighty to a degree, bordering on insanity. He had been a favourite with the austere old man who was gone, for Aurungzeb had found in this, his youngest son, a contrast of character to his own which naturally interested him. But he seldom enjoyed a long period of uninterrupted favour, being constantly banished from court for some discreditable escapade, though as often recalled. Among his other follies—to give it no worse a name—was a senseless love of causing pain, which ultimately degenerated into a cruelty very inconsistent with the general character of his family. Jealous of his brother, he failed to follow the example of Aurungzeb, who had joined all against one till the most powerful was overthrown, and then subdued the others in detail. He did not join the attempt of Ázam; and, after its failure, consumed his opportunities in purposeless marching to and fro, inflicting useless punishments on those whom he deemed his enemies, and writing insolently to his elder brother, who was by this time firmly enthroned in Hindustan. At length, in A.D. 1708, the emperor judged it proper to march against a brother who would not listen to conciliation; but he gave strict orders to Munim Khán to take the prince without bloodshed.

It happened unfortunately for Kám Baksh at this moment that an old general of Aurungzeb's, named Zulfikár Khán, who was inimical to him, had an independent command in the neighbourhood. With

this he attacked the prince, who on his part fought with manful energy, and was not captured till he was in a fainting condition from numerous arrow wounds, and sixty-two of his staff had fallen round his elephant. This took place a few miles from Haidarábád, where the emperor was encamped, and the prince was at once taken to his brother's tents, and placed under the care of European surgeons. The emperor visited him in the evening and covered his bed with his own mantle. "I never thought," said the benevolent monarch, "to see my brother in this condition." To which Kám Baksh sullenly replied, "Neither did I think that one of the house of Taimur would be taken prisoner in war." The proud prince expired the same night, and his body was sent to join that of so many others of his race at the mausoleum of Humáyun, near Delhi.

The only special interest of this event in our day is, that it was the rise of the fortunes of what have been called by Europeans the "Nizams of Haidarábád." For the blind old Turk, Firoz Jang, who had commanded in the south, having tampered with the abortive conspiracy of Kám Baksh, he was now sent into honourable retirement in Gujarát; and his able son, Chin Kilich Khán, succeeding to his command and influence, was placed in a position which he ultimately improved to found a power in the Deccan that still exists.

This, however, was not quite yet. For the moment, the Government of the Deccan was placed under Zulfikár, the general who captured the deceased prince. He tried to conciliate the Mahrattas; and advanced to great honour a chief of that nation named

Minajì Sindhia, who had taken part with him against the late Kám Baksh. Soon after, a quarrel arising between the Mahratta chiefs, about the allowance for collecting land revenues, different sides were espoused by Zulfikár and Munim. The good natured emperor could not find it in his heart to reject definitely the claims of either. In the midst of such disputes the Mahratta chiefs—many of them little better than Fra Diavolos—made havoc of the Deccan. Meanwhile the grief, real and pretended, of the Rajputs was ever growing, while the Punjab—heretofore a secure seat of imperial power—became disturbed by the new born turbulence of the Sikhs.

This denomination applied originally to a sect of religious eclectics, chiefly *Játs* and *Khatris* by race, who seemed to have aimed at playing a similar part in modern Hinduism to that enacted by the Buddhists in early days. About the time of the emperor's progress to Haidarábád their plans had taken a new turn. Guru Gobind, who had followed the court with a small force, died, being assassinated by an impulsive Pathan as he was blaspheming the Prophet. The spiritual succession was claimed by one Bandu, who pretended to work miracles, and called himself *Sacha Pádsháh*, or "king of truth." He turned the attention of his followers to plundering, raised a force of eighteen thousand men among the hardiest peasantry of that part of the world, and encountered with success more than one of the imperial prefects. These smaller triumphs ending in the overthrow of a considerable force under the *Foujdar* of Sirhind, who was killed in the engagement, left the town of that name open to the rapacity of the sectarian

marauders. The sack was accompanied with needless horrors; and the storm next fell on the adjoining districts of Saháranpur, on the eastern side of the Jumna. Here, also, great excesses were committed; and the attack on Hindustan proper was only rolled back by the vigour of the Pathans of Jalalábád, in the district now known as that of Mozafurnagur. Baffled of their prey, by the courageous resistance of the Mussulmans, the Sikhs retreated, after heavy loss, and their next wave broke on the Jalandar Duáb. By this time their forces, irregularly armed and organised, had attained the formidable number of over seventy thousand men. But Shams Khán, the local governor, was a man of resolution and judgment. He collected the neighbouring gentry, and encountered the Sikhs at a place called Rahun. After receiving the fire of the enemy with great *sang froid*, Shams Khán advanced upon them with his whole line. The Sikhs lost heart, and fled for refuge into the fort of Rahun, where they were immediately invested. Being unable to hold out against a long siege, they presently made their escape by night; but, on Shams Khán following them, the fort was re-occupied behind his back by a fresh party of Sikhs. Encouraged by this new success, they gathered fresh forces, and proceeded to threaten Lahore, which was plundered up to the suburbs of the city. Numbers of low-caste Hindus joined their ranks; and the Rajput rebellion distracting the attention of Government, the rising soon attained very formidable proportions.

About the beginning of A.D. 1710, Bahádur Sháh, finding that it was absolutely necessary that

great efforts should be made for the suppression of the Sikhs, resolved to conclude the Rajput difficulty at any price; he therefore took the unusual step of sending one of his sons to summon to his presence the Rájas of Ambar (Jaipur) and Márwár (Jodhpur), to whom he conceded all their demands. What these were on that particular occasion is not recorded, but their general grievances are well known. They were chiefly (1st) the *jizya*, or poll-tax in commutation of death, leviable by Moslem law on all unbelievers; (2nd) the slaughter of horned cattle for beef; and (3rd) the taking of Hindu princesses to be wives of the emperors. Such was the class of points in the Hindu charter, often granted, and as often broken during the period of confusion now under notice. The two chiefs, on leaving the imperial camp, proceeded to Udaipur, where, with the Rana of Mewar, they concluded a triple alliance which, according to Tod, "laid prostrate the throne of Babar, but ultimately introduced the Mahrattas as partizans in their family disputes, who made the bone of contention their own." For the present, however, the emperor's attention was set free for the behoof of the Sikhs, whom he proceeded to attack with the aid of the main army under his most experienced lieutenants. The Sikh rebellion had by this time made great progress; for the vanguard of the imperial forces fought a doubtful engagement with them at Sháhdara, a few miles from Delhi, on the 5th December, 1709. Munim Khán was then sent on with reinforcements, and the Sikhs were at length driven back towards what is now the territory of the sub-Himalayan State of Náhan, and a strong

party of them, under the personal command of the Guru, took refuge in the fort of Lohgarh to the westward. Being hard pressed, the emperor thought they would surrender, and forbade an assault that would in all probability cause much bloodshed. But Munim, in his anxiety to strike a decisive blow by capturing the Guru, stormed the fort. Changing clothes with a devoted follower, the Guru fled during the night by a postern; the imperialists carried the last of the defences after a short struggle, soon after dawn, and entered the place sword in hand. The false Guru was taken and brought before the Mughal general, and the truth was presently made out. A portion of the army was sent on into the mountains of Sirmur, whither the true Guru was supposed to have retired. The raja was caught and sent to Dehli in a cage of iron, but Bandu escaped for the time. Munim Khán entered the capital with drums beating and colours flying. But the mild emperor was really roused at last. He sent out orders to have the noise stopped, and to forbid the baffled general his presence. Munim sickened, and soon after died a victim—so Irádat Khán thought to sensitiveness, of what he deemed royal ingratitude.

His death nevertheless was inopportune, and caused confusion. The Prince Azimushán, who had favoured the deceased, wished that one of his sons should be appointed Captain-General of the Forces, and the other Viceroy of the Deccan *vice* Zulfikár, who was to have the vacant vazirship. But the latter was unwilling to resign the Deccan, which was fast becoming an independent sovereignty, so no vazir was appointed, and the prince himself con-

trolled the administration. Great jealousy appeared to have existed between him and his brothers, but no actual quarrel is recorded at that time.

The emperor was now advanced in years, and his long labours were probably telling on his system. As his strength failed his sons collected round him, as birds of prey attend a dying ox. The two eldest, Jahándar Sháh and Azimushán, were sitting by his bedside one day, the former, at that time considered a warlike prince—took up his father's dagger, and while examining it, drew it from the sheath. The other brother was smitten with alarm, and in his eagerness to avoid an attack that was not intended, struck off his turban against the lintel, forgot his slippers at the entry, and finally fell upon his face. His servants were in waiting, and by them he was taken home.

Zulfikár, on hearing what had happened to his patron, consulted the historian Irádat, and by his advice wrote to offer his services to the prince, but received a haughty answer, scrawled on a scrap of paper. When it was delivered Irádat was still with the minister, who shed tears and muttered complaints. "The errors of an ignorant favourite often endanger," he said, "the very existence of his master." On the 18th February, 1712, the mild and magnificent emperor died.* Tod supposes that he was poisoned. His short reign had not been conspicuously unprosperous; but his liberality had exhausted the exchequer, while his obliging disposition lowered the prestige of the throne.

Besides the princes already named, two others survived their father; and when the funeral was over they resolved to call in the aid of Zulfikár, and with

* See Note at end of Chapter.

his help, effect an amicable distribution of the empire. But the arrangement proved little more than nominal, and Jahándar Sháh, by the support of the experienced minister, overthrew and slew his brothers, more by luck than good management; after which he was proclaimed emperor. He soon became known as an idle voluptuary, effeminately careful of his person, and completely in the hands of a concubine named Lal Konwar and her friends. Kháfi Khán relates an amusing anecdote bearing upon the contrast between them and the ancient "Pillars of the State."

The brother of the favourite was appointed to the *Subah* of Agra, but unexpected delay was experienced in getting the patent made out. At last the emperor spoke to Zulfikár, who controlled the Home Office. "Delay," said the blunt old warrior, "yes, of course there is. We courtiers do nothing without bribes." The emperor, smiling, asked what bribe might be expected from his mistress. "One thousand of her dancing and drawing-masters," was the reply. "Why, what use would you make of such people?" asked the emperor. "I would become their pupil," growled the other. "Since you give all preferment and honour to such people, it is time for us nobles to learn their trade."

The end was near. The emperor and his minister both neglected their public duties, the former from indolence, the latter from disgust. The Deccan was administered in the minister's absence, by a coarse and drunken, though valiant soldier, Dáud Khán, who acted as his deputy. The Sáyyids of Bárha were meanwhile exciting Farukh Siyar, the son of the deceased Azimushán to rebellion in Bahar, and the son of the

old Turkman, Firoz Janj—also lately dead—was fuming in neglect and disgrace at Delhi. Besides his mistress and her friends, the emperor was under no other influence but that of his foster brother Kokaltásh Koka and his family. These wretched creatures combined to frighten him out of his poor wits by insinuating into his mind suspicions of Zulfikár, and the latter, taking alarm in turn, gave way to a terror-born tyranny, and began to justify these intrigues by violent reprisals. In the midst of this confusion the Bárha Sáyyids with their puppet advanced from Bahar, and the emperor, who was at Lahore, moved down the country to meet them; but on reaching Delhi he yielded to the temptations of the capital. The minister, unsupported by his master, could do but little. The conspirators continued to advance. The imperialist army was preceded by a large force under the command of the emperor's eldest son, and a parasite, named Khwája Hassan; but these two poltroons, on nearing danger, fled without a battle, leaving their camp to be plundered by the enemy. The latter were led by two foremost members of the Bárha tribe, Sáyyid Abdulla Khán and his brother Hosain Ali Khán, men trained under Aurungzeb, and since his death attached to his unsuccessful son and grandson Ázam and Azimushán. Under this patronage they had obtained the Governments of Bahar and Allahabad; and though their patrons had been overthrown they had managed to retain them. They had now espoused the cause of this son of their last patron, and, taking advantage of the scandalous condition of affairs at the head quarters, had resolved to aid him with all the resources of their provinces.

They began to cross the Jumna at Gasghat, a ferry or ford on the southern side of the city of Allahabad. As the river was broad, Zulfikár Khán, who had by this time arrived with the main army and the emperor in person, resolved to attack them during the night, and before their passage had been completed. Either, however, from treachery in his army, or because the enemy's forces were numerically superior, he did not succeed in stemming the advance. The action began; the craven emperor mounted the elephant of his mistress and left the field; Kokaltash was killed. The valiant veteran Zulfikár maintained the conflict all day, but Chin Kilish Khán (the future Nizam) withheld his support; neither emperor nor crown prince could be found to show for the encouragement of the chiefs and soldiers, and Zulfikár, towards evening, reluctantly retired and followed the pusillanimous emperor to Delhi. They both repaired to the same place of refuge, the house of Zulfikár's father, Asafuddaula. But all men were now weary of Jahándar and his weaknesses. He was sent to the Salimgarh, and the capital opened its gates to the victor, who ascended the throne by the title of Mohamad Farokh Siyar Gházi on the 9th February, 1713. Jahándar was put to death in his prison, and honours and titles cast into the hands of the Sáyyid kingmakers. Their first step was to persuade Zulfikár Khán to wait upon the new monarch under an oral safe conduct; but he was entangled in controversy after leaving the presence. In the midst of acrimonious wranglings on the politics of the past and present, the veteran was lassoed from behind, and beaten to death by the attendants. His body, and that of the late emperor, were paraded round

the town on elephants, and then flung on the ground before the palace-gate. A reign of the bowstring and of terror ensued; all power was given to a native of Multan who had been a kazi in Bengal; and the Sáyyids soon began to find that they had miscalculated in bringing forward Farohh Siyar as their puppet.

The new emperor was indeed weak, timid, young and inexperienced. But his great fault lay in his habit of following any one who had the last word with him. The kingmakers on their part either did not perceive this, or, perceiving it, lacked the means of counteraction: hence, their enemies were able to separate them. Hosain Ali was placed in command of the army, and sent on a campaign against the Rajputs, while Abdulla, though nominally prime minister, was excluded from the secret junto of the new emperor.

Tod is remarkably reticent about this campaign; but declares that it originated in the expulsion of the Mughals from Marwar by the Rahtor Raja Ajit Sinh, and ended in a compromise between him and the Sáyyid general. Kháfi Khán gives his account from the Mughal point of view. Mir Jumla, the new favourite mentioned above as a Multáni was evidently bent from the first on subverting the influence of the king-makers; and it was probably owing to his instigations that the expedition was planned. Hosain Ali was sent against Jodhpur in the beginning of the second year of the reign; Ajit Sinh preparing for the worst, sent away all the property he could command to distant places in the mountainous parts of Rájputána; and, as in spite of the triple alliance, he seems to have been left to meet the storm alone—at once sought to

pacify the invaders. On his part the Sáyyid leader was, it so happened, equally ready to treat. The cause was this—Mir Jumla, as already noted, enjoyed the entire confidence of the monarch, who openly declared "the word of Mir Jumla and the signature of Mir Jumla were his own." Mir Jumla was an upright public servant who carried out the orders of his master faithfully. This did not suit the vazir, who held that all patents and decrees should go through his office and be signed by himself. The courtiers for the most part sided with their master and his faithful servant; so that the vazir became convinced that the end of the reign of himself and his brother would be sure and speedy unless their separation was put an end to. He therefore wrote to the army explaining to Hosain Ali how matters stood and urging his immediate return. Under these circumstances the Sáyyid general hastened to accept the proffered submission of Ajit: and this is the foundation of truth in Tod's account of the transaction. Ajit however must have been hard pressed and seriously alarmed, for he included in his capitulation a condition directly opposed to the terms of the Rajput confederacy by consenting that his daughter should proceed to Delhi as the emperor's bride.

In the course of this year an arrangement was effected at court in virtue of which Hosain Ali accepted the government of the Deccan, on Mir Jumla consenting to go as subahdar to Bahar. Before departing however, the Sáyyid warned the emperor that if Mir Jumla should be recalled, or his brother molested in the vazirate, he would in either case be at court in force within three weeks' time.

On arriving at his new post he found a serious opposition awaiting him in the person of Dáud Khán, the deputy, who had administered the Deccan for Zulfikár Khán, and who, since that minister's death, had taught himself to consider the province his own. A serious action took place, in which the gallant old wine bibber* was killed by a random shot. When the emperor heard the news, he expressed in durbar his regret at the fate of so renowned a warrior. "Ah, sir!" cried the vazir, who was present, "had it been my brother that was killed, your majesty would have felt far otherwise."

Early in A.D. 1715, the English settlers of Bengal appear for the first time upon the scene of Delhi politics. The Eastern Subahs were then under a nobleman named Jáfar (otherwise Murshid Luli)† Khán, whose conduct was habitually harsh and oppressive to all classes. The English sought for permission to appear at the foot of the throne with a petition of appeal and some rare presents. Their application being graciously received, a mission was despatched, consisting of two chief officials and a Scottish surgeon named William Hamilton. On arriving (which they did, 8th July, 1715),‡ they found themselves received kindly by the emperor, but constantly thwarted by the vazir, who was probably in correspondence with their oppressor.

* He used to visit the English at Madras when Mr. Pitt (father to Lord Chatham) was Governor, and carouse with them to the sound of cannon.—*Marshman.*

† "Wheeler's Early Records," p. 64 and pf., where an account of the mission will also be found.

‡ Kháfi Khán antedates all these events, including the death of Bahádur Sháh; but Irádát Khán corrects him; and the English dates enable us to see that the latter must be right.

The emperor was afflicted with a disorder that prevented his consummating his marriage with the Jodhpur princess; a tumour on the back, according to Tod. Hamilton operated successfully, and, on being asked to name his fee, with memorable public spirit begged for the granting of the prayer which was the object of his mission. The emperor assented, and, after some delay, the mission obtained a patent conferring upon the nascent presidency the right of passing their commerce free of duty, and the possession of townships to an extent which would make them owners of land near Calcutta for ten miles on either bank of the river Hooghly. Intrigues at court delayed the ratification.

Meanwhile the Sikhs had broken out again. The emperor moved towards the Panjab with an immense army, and the English envoys, whose patent had not yet been signed, accompanied the camp. No less than two years of time and large sums of money were spent from their first arrival to the final delivery of the *farmán*. At length the appearance of an English fleet off the coast of Gujarát hastened proceedings. The deed received the sign manual; but, when the envoys reached Calcutta, with all formalities duly completed, the influence of the *subahdar* was still such as to prevent their then obtaining the land. From this specimen may be judged the condition of the administration at this period.

The Sikhs had now greatly increased in numbers and in boldness, and (A.D. 1716) had overrun the country between Lahore and Umballa, in spite of the efforts of the Subahdar Abd-us-Samad Khán and his forces, who were at last forced to entrench their position

and defend it with heavy guns, though nominally besieging the enemy. The latter made a most obstinate defence, but, being strictly invested, they yielded at last, though rather to famine than to force. They surrendered at discretion; and the fierce Moslem at once decapitated two thousand of them whose heads were sent to Delhi with a thousand prisoners, among whom was the Guru Bandu. On reaching the capital, the living with the relics of the dead, were exhibited to the populace, after which the former were gradually massacred in cold blood in the *Chandni Chauk*. The guru and his son were executed in the *Salim Garh*, and it was reported that the father was made to slay the son with his own hands before he himself was put to death.

Next year Mir Jumla returned from his post at Patna. The emperor, true to his character of siding with the present against the absent—and perhaps not unmindful of the threat of his parting general—was more than cold to the former favourite. Mir Jumla went to the vazir, offering abject submission and begging for favour. Finally, Mir Jumla was deprived of his government and sent to the inferior post of Lahore, while Chin Kilich, the future "Nizam" was despatched as Foujdar into Rohilkhand. A futile campaign was waged against the Mahrattas, and an attempt was made to reinforce the Hindu poll-tax. Thus passed the year 1717.

The encroachments of the Sáyyids continued to increase, and the emperor gave himself over more and more to the pleasures of private life, hunting, and the society of ladies. The vazir could get no business despatched for months together. To make matters

still worse, not only was the hateful poll-tax once more imposed upon the Hindus, but the official posts filled by nobles of that class, were at the same time threatened, their accounts called for, and their emoluments diminished. In the Deccan the rebellion of the Mahrattas became both violent and chronic—inflamed, as was supposed—by secret orders from the court, where the fall of the Sáyyid Subahdar was ever prayed for, though none dared strike an active blow towards it.

It is not needful to enter into all the details of the Mahratta politics here, where the only purpose is to exhibit the gradual decay of the empire. Full particulars are to be found in Grant Duff, who has done for the Hindus of the Deccan all that the romantic Tod has for their co-religionists of Rájputána, and with far more of care and judgment.

What is necessary to be observed is, that all these quarrels among the Mussalmans rapidly developed the influence of the Hindus, already sufficiently disposed to give trouble. Hosain Ali made a treaty with the agents of the Mahratta Rája Sáhu (called Shao by Duff); but, on being reported at Delhi, the formal ratification was refused, and the treaty repudiated. An attempt was at the same time made to form a coalition between the Mughals and the Rájputs; but the emperor's usual irresolution, combined with his habit of yielding to private sycophants, weakened all combinations, and the Sáyyid vazir began to raise troops on his own account, and summoned his brother from the Deccan. At the same time he amused the confederates by a pretended reconciliation with the feeble monarch.

Hosain Ali advanced upon the capital with his own army and—omen of evil for the empire—a strong corps of Mahrattas, under an able general of that nation, named Khándi. On his way he was joined by several disaffected Mughal nobles, among them the future Nizam.*

At the beginning of A.D. 1719, Hosain Ali reached his last halting-place at Firozábád, in Old Delhi; and, as a sign of his intentions, contumaciously beat his drums outside of the southern gate of the capital, so as to be heard by the emperor and those with him. Jai Sinh, the chief of the Rájputs of Amber (since called after him, Jaipur), counselled prompt action. But the emperor's head was "muffled," as the chronicler says; he declined the spirited suggestion, and many of the leading courtiers, despairing of such a ruler, flocked out to the rebel camp to make their own terms. Within the palace all was now confusion. The vazir, in durbar, stormily stated his brother's grievances, and demanded three immediate concessions. First, the dismissal of Rája Jai Sinh; second, the nomination of his brother's followers to all posts of trust; and, third, the surrender of the fort and palace into their hands. The helpless emperor consenting, sorrowfully dismissed his friends and favourites, and so signed his own death-warrant. His enemies took possession of his house and person. They then returned to the emperor's apartment, and presenting themselves in unceremonious guise proceeded to read him a lecture on his real and imputed faults and misdeeds. The spirit of the race of Taimur was at

* The chronology of these events is confused and difficult. An attempt is made to reconcile the discrepant authorities.

last kindled; Farukh Siyar made a haughty reply. A stormy scene followed, which ended for the moment in the retirement of the emperor into his private chambers. That night peace was maintained in the city by strong military patrols; but with morning disturbances began. Some of the courtiers took up arms in the streets; the Mahrattas were expelled beyond the walls, one of their leaders and fifteen hundred of his men being slain; barricades were beginning to rise, when suddenly a herald issuing from the palace proclaimed the beginning of a new reign, and the music of a *levée* burst forth in the Naubat Khána. In spite of an amnesty which was at the same time announced, the citizens attempted to communicate with Farukh Siyar, and his amazons, negroes, and Tartar guards prepared for a stout resistance. But even in this supreme moment, no resolution found place in that emasculated heart. Dragged from a place of concealment in the female apartments, Farukh Siyar was taken to a solitary cell, and a son of Azimushán placed upon the throne. Order was restored, spoils distributed, appointments made.

So things went on for two months. In the meantime the miserable Farukh Siyar attempted to intrigue with his guards. On hearing of this the Sáyyids put poison into his food. His constitution resisted, and it was found necessary to terminate his existence by violence. The bowstring was thrown round his neck; he tore at it with his hands, which the executioners beat with sticks till his hold relaxed. After a desperate struggle he fell dead.

Thus perished the Emperor Farukh Siyar in the 38th year of his age, and the seventh of his nominal

reign, reckoned from the death of Bahádur Sháh. His death was followed in four months by that of his successor, and the brother of the latter became nominal emperor. These two poor lads were both the merest puppets; and the second followed the first in little more than three months. This brief period is chiefly remarkable for the increasing boldness of the Hindus. Jai Sinh threatened Agra, where a pretender was in arms; Ajit Sinh, of Jodhpur, had the hardihood to take away his daughter, the widow of Farukh Siyar. The fort of Agra was secured, and the pretender put in confinement; the brother Sáyyids disputed over the treasure that was found in the Agra palace, the property left by Nur Jahán and Mumtaz Mahl, her niece; the sheet of pearls that used to be spread over the tomb of the latter in the Táj on every anniversary of her wedding-day; the jewels that had accumulated since the days of Bábar. Jai Sinh obtained terms, and was made governor of Surat; Ajit Sinh obtaining Ajmere and Ahmádabad. Thus, as Kháfi Khán says, these two unbelievers held sway from the Indian Ocean to within fifty miles of the capital. Churáman, chief of the Bhurtpore Jats, held his part of the country nearly to the walls of Agra. The Mahrattas, as their reward for aiding in the overthrow of Farukh Siyar, obtained the *chauth* or twenty-five per cent. of the revenues of the Deccan, and a further grant of ten per cent. more, with the independent sovereignty of the heart of the ancient "Mahratta" country from Poona to Kolhapur.

NOTE.—From a reference, for which I am indebted to the research and courtesy of Professor Blochmann, M.A., of the Calcutta "Madrisa," I learn that Bahádur Sháh, shortly after his accession, assumed the title of Sáyyid in right of his mother. This lady was the descendant of a hermit named Sáyyid Mír Sháh, who disappeared after marrying a daughter of the Rája of Cashmere. This Rája adopted the children and brought them up as Hindus. Hence the lady who, by a singular accident, became the wife of Aurungzeb in his youth, was in one respect of Sáyyid origin, though in another she might be looked upon as Hindu. Her title, after her marriage, was Nuwáb Bai, a mark, perhaps, of her double nationality.

The following contemporary account of the confusion that followed the death of Bahádar Sháh, may help to show the disorganised condition of society at that period:—"Loud cries were heard on every side. The *amirs* and officials left the camp in the dark, and went to join the princes. Many persons . . . were greatly alarmed and went to the city with their families. The streets were so crowded that it was impossible to pass along them, and houses could not be found to accommodate the people. Several persons were to be seen taking refuge in one shop. Friends and relations were unable to answer the calls made upon them. Great disturbances arose in the armies of the princes, and none of the grandees had any hope of saving their lives. The soldiers loudly demanded their arrears, and, joining the private servants, used bad language and began to plunder. Fathers could not help their sons, nor sons their fathers; every one had enough to do in taking care of himself, and the scene was like the "Day of Judgment." [From the "Tazkira Chaghtai," apud Dowson, vol. viii., p. 19, where the date is erroneously given as 1615.]

All this bewilderment was one of the fruits of the incapacity of the Chughtais for progress. They had no fixed law of succession in the deserts of Karákoram, where it was needful that the leader of the tribes should be the most competent; so, after forming a settled government, they allowed the same state of things to continue, though circumstances had quite altered.

CHAPTER VIII.

DECAY AND DISINTEGRATION.

II.

DISAPPOINTED in the line of Rafinshán, the king-making Sáyyids now found themselves under the necessity of selecting a hardier scion. Their choice fell upon Roshan Akhtar, son of one of the brothers of Jahándar Sháh, slain in the battle near Lahore, by which that prince consolidated his short-lived sovereignty. The choice was apparently wise; the young emperor was handsome, intelligent, and gifted with many good qualities. His mother was a woman of experience, well known for intelligence and tact. It is probable that the Sáyyids expected to rule the ruler, and to find a grateful and willing tool in the lady, for they surrounded them with their own creatures and confidants.

The first durbar* was held at Fathipur-Sikri, 14th September, 1719, when the new emperor took his seat under the title of MOHAMAD SHÁH. Students of history will note his reign as the period in which were founded all the modern powers of the Indian

* See note at end of Chapter.

peninsula. It seemed as though the empire, like some of the lower animals, was about to reproduce its life by "fissiparous generation."

Mohamad, however, soon showed that he was not minded to be a mere puppet, and he found an active encouragement in the daily discourse of his mother, Mariam Makám. The surveillance in which they were kept prevented their taking any immediate steps; but that surveillance could not be maintained for ever. The first distraction was caused by the rebellion of a Hindu official who had seized the Fort of Allahabad, and attempting to hold the surrounding country on his own account. Scarcely had this difficulty been disposed of, by negotiation, backed with a show of force, than a fresh trouble arose in the south.

It will be remembered that Chin Kilich Khán, who was spoken of in the last chapter as the future Nizam, had been sent to pacify the Morádábád districts, tracts between the Ganges and the Kamaon Hills. Since his return he had been mostly leading a retired life at Delhi. About the end of Farukh Siyar's reign, he had been deputed by the Sáyyids to the Government of the beautiful and fertile plateau of Málwa, where he established himself at Ujain in February, 1719. But the new subahdar was a dangerous tool, a Turanian and a Sunni, able, discontented and restless. In his new sphere he soon attracted to himself a body of disaffected soldiers and gentry of his own class.

The emperor's mother, chafing under the bonds in which she and her son were kept by the Sáyyids, saw her opportunity in the attitude of this valiant and powerful clansman; and she began a secret corres-

pondence with the Turkmán, in which, touching the spring of hereditary loyalty to the Chughtai, she engaged him to her cause. The Sáyyids, on their part, were not unaware of the rising danger, and they endeavoured to make for themselves friends among the chiefs of the Hindus. As soon as they fancied themselves strong enough to pick a quarrel with the Nizam they ordered him to make over charge of Málwa, giving him in exchange the choice of several inferior appointments. As he demurred, he was summoned to Delhi; but the private instructions of the emperor were quite opposite, warning him that there was no time to be lost, and that what he had to do must be done quickly—if it was to be done at all. From a Hindu letter, preserved by Tod, it would appear that early in the monsoon of 1720, the Nizam was known to have left his capital and crossed the Nerbudda at the head of a strong party of horse. Collecting followers along his line of march, he presently obtained possession of much of the country between the Nerbudda and the Tapti. Burhánpur was the first place of importance at the possession of which he thought it necessary to aim, and inasmuch as he had not sufficient force to besiege a place of such strength and magnitude, he was obliged to have recourse to negotiation. A faint-hearted leader surrendered the defences, and the Nizam made his entry into this important position in little more than a fortnight after crossing the Nerbudda—some time in May. It seems that it took over three months for the news to reach the Rájputs.

Burhánpur was once one of Akbar's capitals, and still contains the remains of a fine palace built by him.

It is situated on the river Tapti at the foot of the romantic scarps of the Satpura Hills. It was in those days the gate of the Deccan, being on the high road to Aurangábád, and accordingly the Nizam resolved to make it his first position. Here he found some of the family of his enemy, whom he treated with all respect, and forwarded under an escort on their way to Delhi. Numbers of Mohamadan chiefs flocked to his standard, and he began to form a park of artillery. His next success was the capture of the neighbouring fortress of Asirgurh (so well known to the British by the valiant resistance that it offered to them about a century later than the time we are now concerned with, in the Pindaree war). Situated on a solitary rock, seven hundred and fifty feet high, and dominating the whole plain between the Tapti and the Nerbudda rivers, it was at once indispensable to the permanent holding of Burhánpur, and almost impregnable to besiegers of those days. It fell into the Nizam's hands by treachery, and gave him forthwith the command of the whole country of Khándes. Some Mahratta chiefs joined him.

It was now late in the summer of 1720, the second year since the murder of Farukh Siyar. The Sáyyids were becoming seriously embarrassed. Abdullah—whom we may note as the civilian brother—proposed to retire to Delhi (they appear to have been at Fathipur Sikri when the campaign began), while Hosain Ali should set out for the Deccan with such a force as he could improvise. The emperor, with the begam, his mother, was first sent in one direction—then in the other.

Meanwhile the Nizam had been all but caught

between two fires; for Diláwar Ali, a partizan of the brothers, after overrunning the evacuated province of Málwa, was already over the Nerbudda, while their nephew, Álam Áli Khán, with the local levies, was advancing towards the Tapti from the side of Aurángábád. The Nizam resolved to deal with the northern force first. Sending his family to the security of Asirgarh, he advanced to the neighbourhood of a small village called Ratanpur, about thirty miles north of Burhánpur, whence he sent a messenger to endeavour to open negotiations with Diláwar. That leader rejecting his overtures, the Nizam awaited the attack. It took place 10th June, 1720. The action was precipitated by a feint on the part of the Mughal leader, which drew on a rash attack by the combined forces of Diláwar and of several Rájput chiefs who had joined the Sáyyids. Tod mentions the Ránas of Kota and Nirwar. The Sáyyid general, leading on his men, in the oriental fashion, mounted on an elephant, was shot dead. His Mussalman followers lost heart, and were defeated with the slaughter of nearly five thousand men. The Rájputs, fighting better, got off with the loss of over three hundred, and the Kota prince, who was slain, fighting bravely to the last. The Nizam then fell back upon Burhánpur, where he left a garrison and proceeded southward, to the encounter of the Aurangábád forces, under Álam Áli.

Meanwhile all was confusion at court. The councils of the brothers were violently perplexed, and not a week passed without a change of purpose and a removal of camp. Now the emperor was marched towards Delhi; now carried back to Agra. The conspiracy against the brothers, already initiated

by the Sultána, became more fully organised, and was joined by the Subahdar of Biána, Saádat Ali—a shiah like themselves—and by Haidar Kuli Khán, whom they had placed in supreme command of the artillery, a chosen corps, in whose ranks were many Europeans. A violent earthquake, which overthrew part of the walls of Delhi, and destroyed considerable life and property, added to the trouble of the time. In the midst of these distractions, worse news arrived from the south.

Having made his dispositions for the defence of Burhánpur, the Nizam, in spite of his past successes, once more attempted to make terms with his enemies. Writing to Álam Áli "a few noble words," as the chronicler calls them, he advised his correspondent to urge peace upon his uncles ere it was too late. But Álam Áli refused to listen either to this generous counsel or to the no less prudent warnings of his Mahratta colleagues, who recommended him to occupy Ahmadnagar, or else to return to Aurangábád, where he might consolidate his power, while they, laying waste the country, after the manner of their nation, hampered or arrested the enemy's advance.

For the Sáyyid was young and confident; no more inclined to what he thought an unworthy warfare than to what might seem a truckling peace. Descending the pass that led from Ajanta towards the head of West Berár, he pitched his camp on the right bank of the river Purna, which flows into the Tapti a few miles below Burhánpur. This stream was so swollen by the rains of an early monsoon as to appear more like a trackless marsh than a mere affluent of another river.

But the Mughal star was in the ascendant. Master of the country, the Nizam had little difficulty in procuring competent and trustworthy guides, by whose aid he found a ford some thirty miles higher up. Álam Áli was much disturbed when he heard of the crossing, but he sent a cloud of Mahratta horsemen to reconnoitre, who soon retired, after a fruitless engagement with the Nizam's advanced guard. The main army of the latter was now encamped in a desert neighbourhood, between Akola and Burhánpur; and, if the Sáyyid commander had even yet been willing to follow prudent councils, it would have suffered much from the weather and the want of provisions. But the Mahrattas on Álam Áli's side renewed their attacks, and on the 1st August the Nizam was able, in appearing to repel one of these onslaughts, to tempt his enemy with an insufficient force, and so repeat the tactics that had lately proved fatal to Diláwar Áli. The Sáyyid, too, renewed his colleague's mistake, rushed upon the enemy, who promptly fled, and presently found himself surrounded by the whole force of the Nizam. Streaming with bloody wounds, the gallant youth stood upon his elephant, returning upon the enemy their own arrows. But his strength at last failed, and he sank lifeless on the bottom of his howdah. The Mahrattas retreated; the Mussalmans joined the Nizam.

The news of this fresh disaster reached Agra while the ministers were engaged in making their last move. Abdullah, the statesman, returned to Delhi. Hosain Áli, the more warlike brother, advanced in the direction of the Deccan with the emperor and the emperor's companions and mother, whose plans for his destruction

were fast ripening. Late in September the camp was pitched at a small village sixty or seventy miles beyond Fathipur Sikri. The chief conspirator was a Persian noble named Saádat Áli (who should be noticed as the future founder of the dynasty of Oudh, still represented by a pensioned "king" leading a private life in Calcutta).

There was a Turkmán attached to the suite of Mohamad Amin Khán (one of the chief nobles of the court), whose name was Haidar Khán. On him the duty of striking the blow that was to liberate the Mughals now devolved. The durbar had broken up; the emperor had retired to his private tent, the courtiers had dispersed or were dispersing. Haidar Khán approached the palanquin of the doomed minister, and presented a mock petition which he had prepared for the purpose. When he saw Hosain Ali engaged in perusing the paper, the Tartar drew his long knife from his girdle, and struck so swiftly, that his victim was slain by the first blow. The assassin was at once cut down, and the alarm became general, Mohamad Amin, with his son Kamruddin and some hundred and fifty chosen followers, hastened to the imperial tent; Haidar Kuli called out his gunners. On the other side the relatives and partizans of the deceased minister led out their forces. The strife rose high; the camp followers, duly prompted, no doubt, plundered and burned the tents of the Sáyyids. Their new leader, a nephew of the minister, was shot in the *mêlée*, and the men who had been desperately following soon fled when he was no longer there to lead. On all sides arose shouts proclaiming victory and deliverance.

The post of vazir was now conferred upon Mohamad Amin, and his son Kamruddin was made the comptroller of the household. Haidar Kuli and Saádat the Persian also received great promotion. The surviving Sáyyid, the ex-vazir Abdulla Khán, heard the news upon his road, and with a heavy heart pursued his way to Delhi. Arriving at the capital after a troublous journey, he lost no time in raising another pretender, a son of the late short-lived Rafinshán. A counter court was created, and hasty arrangements made for raising an army. By the 1st November 90,000 horsemen had been enlisted, and the force was swollen by the junction of the Bhurtpore Jats and other Hindus. On the other side, small accessions of strength were received from the Rohillas, Mewátis and other Indian Mussalmans, all of whom were of the Sunni sect like the Mughals. Thus reinforced, the imperial bands, under the command of Haidar Kuli, turned off from their southward road, and marched towards Delhi. The meeting between the two hosts took place near Muttra, on the 3rd November, 1720; and after a bloody battle, that lasted two days, Sáyyid Abdullah and his puppet emperor were taken and their followers put to flight. The emperor entered Delhi on the 10th, and was received with welcome by all classes.

In the meanwhile the Nizam, freed from further molestation, had established himself at Aurangábád, and endeavoured, by a liberal display of favour, to procure for himself the adherence of Mubáriz Khán, the administrator of Haidarábád. Having made these arrangements, he proceeded to Delhi. Mohamad Amin dying, for him opportunely, the

Nizám was at once appointed vazir, and it seemed as if the new reign, emerging from the clouds of its morning, was about to open upon a calm and bright existence. No one could then foresee the yet distant storm that was destined to make it the most fatal period of the house of Taimur.

Sáyyid Abdullah died soon after his defeat; poison was suspected, but never proved. Saádat Khán became Viceroy of Oudh. A Hindu was appointed Governor of Málwa; the poll-tax was taken off the shoulders of the Hindus. Ajit Sinh, the Prince of Jodhpur, was put in charge of the Subah of Agra; and an anecdote recorded by Tod serves to show to what a pitch of boldness the Rajputs had by this time arrived. The raja's son was presented at the Court of Delhi on the occasion of his father's promotion, and, as representing his father, claimed the first place at the emperor's right hand. The master of the ceremonies motioning him to his proper place, he drew upon the courtier, and was only saved from a repetition of the fate of Amr Sinh by the Turkish tact and temper of the monarch himself. Ajit Sinh did not long enjoy his good fortune, for this same fiery youth was presently selected by some remaining members of the old Sáyyid cabal as a means of removing his own father from the path of his intrigues. This horrible crime was committed under every circumstance of aggravation. Ajit Sinh was murdered by his second son at the instigation of the first, and in the arms of his wife.

Thus fell the father of an empress, the hereditary ruler of Márwar, the Viceroy of Agra, the "Turk's lance," as he is called in Rajput ballads. He was in

his forty-sixth year, and for more than half that period had been one of the foremost figures of the time from his restless valour. At his funeral his six ránis, and no less than fifty-eight concubines, burned themselves to death with the body of their lord.

Meanwhile, the emperor and his young companions at Delhi were indulging themselves in courses which enormously precipitated the coming disasters. The Nizam who had (as has already been mentioned) been appointed vazir in February, 1721, was an austere and orthodox Turk, brought up in the Court of Aurungzeb, and much scandalised at the prevailing licence. He remonstrated against the remission of the poll-tax on unbelievers, and he desired to restore the etiquette and ceremonial of the old Mughal Court. The courtiers ridiculed the ancient warrior's punctilios as if he had been a sort of Polonius. When he offered his old-fashioned obeisance at durbar, they would say among themselves, "See how the Deccan monkies dance." The Nizam observed these petulances, but could not take open notice of them. Such things caused constant dissensions; the young courtiers, having the ear of their master, poisoned his mind against the faithful old soldier; the latter fretted himself into an illness, and was granted leave of absence, which he employed in hunting in his old districts at the foot of the Kumaon hills. While thus engaged, he received intelligence of the Mahrattas having carried their ravages into one of his southern provinces, and of Mubariz Khán having rebelled in the other. Seeing all these things, the Nizam evidently felt that his place was not at court, and accordingly soon afterwards departed for the Deccan, where he founded

the hereditary power which still subsists at Haidarábád.

Kamruddin Khán, son of the late minister, Mohamad Amin, became vazir, but all power fell practically into the hands of Samsám-ud-Daulah Khán Daurán, the paymaster-general and virtual commander of the forces. The Nizam was propitiated with letters, gifts, and the patent of *Vakil-i-Mutlak*—plenipotentiary of the empire.

Miserable was the condition of his new province, or principality, as we have learned to call it. The excellent contemporary historian, Kháfi Khán, hitherto our chief guide, leaves us here. His testimony at parting is, that the Nizam's country was reduced to such a state of wretchedness that the trading classes left their native land, abandoning their ancestral homes to wander in search of support in distant countries. But, thanks to the mercy of God, the cries of the oppressed were heard, and the beneficent shadow of Nizam-ul Mulk Bahádur was to fall upon the land and restore its ancient prosperity. Under former subahdars, the ways had been infested by ruffianly robbers, and by the rapacity of Mahrattas and lawless landholders; but now, traffic and travel were once more safe. But even this resolute and able ruler was unable to break loose from the Mahratta yoke; and the best arrangement that, with all his prestige and all his skill, he was able to effect was, that the tribute should be paid to these Hindus by himself instead of their collecting it from the people through their own agents. As observed by Grant Duff, the two great figures now remaining on the stage of Indian affairs were the Nizam and Baji Rao, the Mahratta

peshwa. But we are not here concerned with the history of India, and have only to note events directly connected with the fortunes of the house of Taimur.

The actual beginning of the Nizam's independence is given by Grant Duff as July, 1724. Chronology is not the forte of native historians, but this able writer had other sources of information, and his dates are to be relied upon as having been compared with the records of the English factory at Surat.

The Mahrattas, on their part, full of the energy of a young and prosperous nation, were resolved upon doing their best to gain whatever the Mughals lost. About the same time they resolved to gird up their loins for the invasion of Hindostan. "Let us strike," said the peshwa to his nominal master, "let us strike at the trunk of this withering tree, the branches will then fall of themselves."

On the other hand the Turkish element in the Mughal administration was becoming more quarrelsome day by day, and less efficient for the purposes of administration. Thwarted by Mughal rivals, warring with Mahratta foes, the Nizam wore out the next seven years in the Deccan, but in August, 1731, he at last consented to the invasion of Hindustan, which had been long maturing, but which apparently could not go forward but by his connivance.

Surprise will probably be felt that an ancient soldier of the empire, who was not only a staunch Mussalman, but a Tartar Bayard, and who, according to Kháfi Khán, had never deviated a hair's breadth from the path of loyalty, should have adopted such a course. The answer is that, by that time, Mughal

politics had degenerated into mere selfishness, and the only difference between the best and worst class of politicians was, that the one sought their own ends without any scruple or decency whatever, while the other thought all permissible that did not trench upon the person of the sovereign. The Nizam perceived that by diverting his domestic enemy, the peshwa, against the Mughal Court, he would be at once embarrassing his political rivals at that court, and freeing his own provinces from danger, and he took the step accordingly.

The first attack fell upon the once happy valley of Málwa, where it was encountered strangely enough by defenders, who were also Hindus like their assailants. The governor, Abhai Sinh, the son and murderer of the late Ajit Sinh, and his successor as Rája of Jodhpur, was driven out by the Mahrattas, and the conduct of the war was reverted to another Hindu, Jai Sinh—the well-known *savant* of Jaipur—who soon made terms with the Mahrattas. Up to 1735 these conquerors were occupied in consolidating their conquests; but in the beginning of the following year the troops of Malhár Rao Holkar appeared in the country to the south-east of Agra. Khán Daurán made preparations to arrest their progress, but his preparations "commenced in bombast and ended in ridicule."* An ineffectual campaign terminated in humiliating negotiations; the Turks about the court still voted for war, but Khán Daurán maintained his influence over the emperor, and only partially lost ground ultimately by attempting reprisals upon the Nizam. The old

* Grant Duff.

warrior, finding that a tribute from the provinces that he had learned to regard as his own formed part of the terms now being offered to Báji Rao, thought it time to make his appearance at court in the character of saviour. Saádat Khán at the same time moved up from Oudh, and struck a blow at Holkar near Etáwa. On hearing of this the peshwa made a flank march upon the undefended capital, and fought a successful action on the Rewári side of Delhi with a small force that had sallied from the city. But he was plainly out-generalled. Saádat's force effected a junction with the main army of the Mughal's under the vazir, and Báji Rao decamped towards Gwalior with the intention of crossing the Jumna lower down and plundering the Doáb.

Meanwhile the Nizam had reached Delhi and assumed the supreme command. He succeeded in pacifying the Doáb, and then wheeled to the right and crossed the Jumna for the purpose of arresting the Mahratta tactics by a campaign to the southward. But he was ill-supported at court, and was soon surrounded and blockaded by the Mahrattas in Bhopál. After an unsuccessful attempt to break their lines, the old viceroy was forced to make terms, by which he surrendered the whole of Málwa and of the adjoining country between the Chambal and the Nerbudda. This negotiation is dated by Grant Duff, 11th February, 1738.

The famous Nádir Sháh, who had usurped the throne of Persia just two years before, was now extending his boundaries in the direction of Candahár and Cabul, which then formed part of the Mughal Empire. Flushed with almost uninterrupted successes against

the Ottoman Turks, he now turned his arms against their kinsfolk in the farther east. Nádir Sháh was one of those popular leaders who ultimately become scourges of the human race, and like Jenghiz and Bonaparte, seem at last only happy when pursuing adventures at the expense of their followers' blood. He was born of Turkmán parents, in the province of Khorasan, about A.D. 1688; when seventeen years old he was taken captive by the Uzbeks, where he remained in slavery about four years. After escaping, he led a life of adventure in his native country for some years, until he found an opportunity of delivering Persia from the yoke of the Pathans and restoring the Safavi dynasty. Thus far his career had been that of a patriotic champion of the type of Wallace and Scanderbeg. But his continued prosperity, and especially the warm attachment of his soldiers, fired his ambition. He imprisoned the sovereign that he had made and became king himself.*

The authority followed by Dow in describing the invasion of India by Nádir was a Hindu gentleman, Rai Raián, who held the post of secretary to the emperor, Sháh Álam, in the earlier years of that unfortunate potentate, and who may have been an eye-witness of what occurred. Unable to believe good of any Mussalman, this writer held that Nádir's invasion of India was brought about by a letter jointly written by the Nizam and Saádat Ali, the Viceroy of Oudh. But there is no evidence assigned, and whatever may be thought of the complicity of Saádat, who was him-

* Like all great commanders, Nádir was a strict enforcer of discipline. In the early part of his career his system was justice of the rewarding sort, tempered with severity. In the latter part severity prevailed.

self a countryman of the invader, one would not wish to suspect the old Turkmán—who had nothing in common with any Persian—of such foul treachery to the monarch of his faith, and the friend and patron of his family and himself. In any case Saádat was evidently his rival and foe.*

Dow has preserved a circumstantial account of Nádir's advance upon Delhi. The army of the empire, under the personal command of the Emperor Mohamad Sháh, encountered the invaders on the plains of Karnál, a few miles north of Panipat, in a neighbourhood where the fate of Indian government has been often decided. On the 24th of February, 1738, an action was fought in which Saádat Ali, the Viceroy of Oudh, was taken prisoner—not without suspicion of connivance—and Samsám, the *khan daurán* or captain-general, was wounded in the arm, as it proved, mortally.† The Nizam now opened a negotiation with Nádir, who appears to have been surprised at the unexpected resistance of the Mughals; and it was agreed that the Persian army should depart with a moderate pecuniary indemnity. But this did not satisfy Ṣaádat, who promised his countryman better terms if he would remain and prosecute the adventure. In the midst of these negotiations, the craven emperor—his mind poisoned with suspicion, and having lost his most trusted friend—took the sudden resolution of throwing himself into the hands of the invader. Mohamad was carried to the Persian

* Dow's view is supported by another contemporary writer, but he, too, gives no proof or authority for his statements. See note at end of chapter.

† This action must have been serious, if, as Fraser in a note asserts, the Persians lost 7500 men.

camp in his litter, or "travelling throne," with a small personal following, and on arriving was well received. Only, after he had been seated on the left hand of his enemy, that rough but earnest warrior could not refrain from reading him a lecture on his want of spirit. "Why," said Nádir, "what a ruler in Islam are you! You not only pay tribute to those dirty Hindu savages in the south, but when an invader comes against you, as I have done, you give up the game without a single honest struggle." He then ordered refreshments to be set before the fallen monarch, and retired to another tent to consult with his prime minister upon the terms to be offered. On re-entering the audience-tent, he found Mohamad calmly but seriously devoting himself to the repast that had been served. "What a man is this!" cried Nádir, to his companion, "who can bear thus easily the loss of power and liberty. But there are only two ways of encountering trouble. Either one must suffer patiently or act boldly: either despise the world, or exert all the powers of the mind to subdue it. Mohamad chooses the first, my course must be the second." He then informed his philosophic prisoner that he had no quarrel with the house of Taimur, but that it was absolutely necessary that his forces should be refreshed by rest at Delhi, while he himself was indemnified by the expenses of the war.

The Nizam being unable to resist alone, and Mohamad being domesticated in the Persian camp, the two armies united, and advanced on Delhi. On the 19th of March, the capital was entered, and however inflammable the jarring elements, good order was for a time preserved by means of the strict discipline that had been established by Nádir among his troops.

How the explosion of a petty provocation given to a private soldier led to an attack upon the Persians by some armed citizens; how Nádir went out at midnight and swept the streets with grape; how in the morning he was shot at while seated on the terraced roof of the "golden mosque," still shown in Chàndnee Chauk; how he then lost his temper, and ordered the punishment of the city; how from 7 A.M. to 4 P.M. a methodical massacre went on under his eye till the Dariba* ran with the blood of merchants and bankers; how on the supplication of his own minister, inspired by the gentle emperor, the invader as promptly pardoned the surviving citizens, and returned to the scabbard every sword that had been at its cruel work for nine hours—all these startling facts are fully detailed in all histories. One hundred and twenty thousand persons are said to have fallen victims to this stern act of vengeance, while the conqueror sat upon the terrace of the mosque, and no man dared to approach him, "for his countenance was dark and terrible."

Nádir then returned to the palace, where the weeping emperor was soon consoled, and where they sate and took their coffee together—the last time that the great peacock throne was ever used or seen at Delhi.† Mohamad received his crown from the hands of his unwelcome visitor, and became, for the time, a Persian vassal.

Plunder followed upon carnage; the principal Indian nobles were employed to levy the indemnity, and then on the 25th May the Persians marched out of

* The entry to the bazaar is still known as "The Gate of Blood."

† See note at end of Chapter.

Delhi. At their departure for their own country they took with them the reputation of good soldiers, and booty estimated at eighty millions of pounds sterling, besides private plunder. Cabul and all the trans-Indus provinces were at the same time ceded by treaty.

The discipline then exhibited shows the system of Nádir at its best, stern if you will, but rational and prosperous. As years advanced his faults increased. It seemed as though the blood of Delhi blinded him. At length, the fear engendered by his vindictive violence, turned his subjects, and even his soldiers, from him. He was finally assassinated in his tent on the 20th June, 1747, and all his family perished, excepting one son who wandered west, and eventually died at Vienna under the style of Baron von Semlin.

The empire of the Indian Turks was shaken to its foundation by this terrible series of events. Saádat Ali, the Oudh Viceroy, died at Delhi during their progress.* He was succeeded in his viceroyship by his kinsman Safdar Jang. Kamruddin, a Turkmán and cousin of the Nizam, held the portfolio (or "pen-case") of vazir; the Nizam's son was appointed captain-general and paymaster of the forces. The Nizam at first settled at Delhi as general controller of the state and plenipotentiary minister; but the Deccan continued to be the theatre of contests between various Mohamadan chiefs among themselves, and with the Mahrattas, and in the early part of 1741 he returned to the Deccan, where he found himself

* Saádat is generally supposed to have died of poison administered by his own hand, in consequence of the contempt shown him by Nádir. Many suicides marked these dreadful weeks.

opposed by his own son, Nádir Jang. This rebellion was put down—more by luck than management—and the Nizam proceeded to settle the affairs of the Carnatic, or south-east portion of the peninsula—where the disturbances had been the greatest. In this undertaking he remained absorbed till his death, at a very advanced age, on the 19th of June, 1748. The southern provinces were inherited by one of his sons, and this may be regarded as the final disruption of the empire.

About the same time a further loss was sustained in the erection into an independent province of the eastern Subahs (of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahár), under another Turkmán, Alivardi Khán. As for Cabul and the Northern Provinces, they were now under the sway of an Afghán adventurer from Herat, named Ahmed Khán, by whose descendants or connexions they have ever since been held. Nothing therefore remained to be maladministered or wrangled over by the Delhi Mughals but the Panjab and Hindostan, and even here attempts were made, with more or less success, to carve hereditary kingdoms from the decomposing mass.

The unfortunate reign of Mohamad, begun under such different auguries, was now to close. Ahmed Khán Abdáli came down from his mountains to seize the Panjab, and renew the sack of Delhi. But he had overestimated his forces. The heir-apparent of the Mughal emperor proceeded against him, and, with the aid of the Oudh force and some of the Rajput levies, defeated him in three successive actions. During this campaign, Kamruddin, the vazir, died—being killed by an Afghan round shot as he was praying in his

tent. His death was the last drop in Mohamad's cup of grief.

When the news reached Delhi the much-tried emperor retired to his chamber, where he spent the night in solitary weeping. Next day he came out to his durbar, and took his seat as usual in the *diwani-aám* upon the dismantled throne, from which the Persians had torn the diamonds, pearls, rubies and emeralds that had been lavished on it by Sháhjahán. Nothing was heard in the circle but praises of the deceased. The emperor listened, but it was with a sinking courage. "The staff of my old age is broken, is snapped," said the once cheerful prince; "no such faithful servant can I find again." As he was thus lamenting, a convulsion, such as he had sometimes before suffered, passed over his frame. When the attendants went to raise him the emperor was no more. This event occurred 8th April, 1747.

The new emperor returned from this campaign seven days after his father's decease, and he was proclaimed by the title of Ahmad Sháh, without opposition. The vacant vazirship was conferred upon Safdar Jang, the Viceroy of Oudh, in whose family the title became hereditary, but mostly titular.

Mohamad Sháh was a typical Taimuride element—easy going, personally brave, but morally irresolute. A Mughal friend said of him, that his soul was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by a passing storm, but settling at once so soon as the disturbance was over. The curse of Reuben!

The short reign of his successor is chiefly remarkable for the rebellion of the Pathans of Rohilkund, and for the rise of the Bhurtpore Játs. The emperor

was entirely in the hands of Janid Khán, the chief eunuch of his harem; Ghaziuddin, the Nizam's son, and chief of the grandees, having departed to the Deccan to look after his father's inheritance.

The Pathans, by whom the states of Rohilkund were established in the decline of the empire, were Mussalmans, originally of Afghán origin. During the early part of the Mughal period, they had become Indianized, and had endeavoured to retain a fragment of their old empire in the Eastern Provinces, their capital being Jaunpur, in North Bahár. Bernier says of them that they are a Mohamadan people, issuing "from the side of the river Ganges, towards Bengal, who . . . are fierce and warlike . . . a people that despise the heathens and Mughals, and mortally hate the last, remembering what they were formerly before they were by the Mughals driven away from their large principalities, and constrained to wander hither and thither . . . into the mountains, where they are now settled, and where some of them have made themselves petty sovereigns."

Pursuing this policy, they had, about eighty years after Bernier's time, attacked the governor of Ratáhir, in the Subah of Moradabad, once the province of the Nizam. Under their leader, one Ali Mohamad, they occupied the country at the foot of the Kumaon hills, about four years before the death of the Emperor Mohamad; and it began to be well known by the name of "Rohilkhand," which it still bears, after the name "Rohilla," which distinguished the particular tribe to which they belonged.

The Játs, who first began to attract attention during Aurungzeb's reign, are believed by ethnologists

to be descended from a horde of Getæ, or Yu-chi, who came across the Indus at the breaking up of the Græco-Bactrian power, shortly before the Christian era. Their leader, Churáman, first rendered them formidable in the time of Farukh Siyar; and the town of Bhurtpore (or Bharatpur) was fortified and made a chief city and place of arms by Suraj Mal, who was Churáman's grand nephew.

The two rival politicians of the day were the nephew of Saádat of Oudh — a Persian and a shia sectary, who is known in history by his title of Safdar Jang, and the grandson of the Nizam, Mir Shahábuddin, a Turkmán and a Sunni, usually known as Ghaziuddin II. The latter, though very young, obtained the command of the army, and was regarded as a leader of the Mughals. The Persian went forth as a leader of opposition, and rallied the Játs and Mahrattas round his standard. It can hardly answer any purpose to go into the details of the ignoble struggles that ensued. Mir Mannu, son of the late vazir Kamruddin, the last respectable Mughal leader, maintained order, so long as he lived, in the Panjab. Holkar and his Mahrattas, having temporarily driven the Rohillas into the hills, occupied the southern parts of Rohilkhand. The provinces of Lahore and Multán were, on Mannu's death, surrendered to Ahmad Khán, the Afghan chief. The hapless emperor, unwilling to put himself entirely in the hands of his unscrupulous young minister, and yet not daring to call in honestly the aid of Safdar Jang and his Hindu allies, encountered the proverbial fate of him who tries to sit on two stools.

In the beginning of 1754, Safdar Jang was com-

pletely baffled in an attempt which, with the aid of the Játs, under Suraj Mal, he had made to seize the capital. He fled to Lucknow, while a Mughal general laid siege to the strong places of the Bhurtpore country. At the same time the Mahrattas, under chiefs of the Sindhia and Holkar families, having occupied Gujarát, marched northward, overran Rajputána, placing both Rajput and Mughal territory under contribution, and followed the example of the Mughals in attacking the Játs.

Mir Shahábuddin, the young commander of the Mughal forces, moved out of Delhi to join the league, and support his lieutenant, whom, shortly after his arrival in camp, he ordered back to Delhi for a fresh supply of ammunition. The emperor, urged by his minister—another Turkmán, who was jealous of the talents and prosperity of the captain-general—refused the stores, and wrote to Suraj Mal, encouraging him in resistance. As soon as he could raise sufficient force, he marched out of the capital in person, intending to co-operate with the beleaguered Játs, and catch his too able commander between two fires. But the letter written to the Ját chief fell into Shahábuddin's hands, and he returned it to the emperor with open and violent menaces. The latter, in great alarm, retreated upon Delhi, but the two forces entered the capital together. The palace was stormed, the emperor and his minister were seized and murdered. The events occurred in the summer of 1754. About the same time died Safdar Jang, who was buried in the mausoleum still existing on the road from Delhi to the *Kutb Minár*. The Shiah policy was taken up by his able and energetic son Shujaá-ud-Daula, who

succeeded him as virtual ruler of Oudh, and hereditary vazir of the empire.

Anarchy was now complete. As Dow says—transcribing, doubtless, from his native authority—"The country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bonds of private friendship and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm."

The creator of the late revolution followed the accepted Turkish tradition, and set up a fresh puppet out of the captive princes of the house of Taimur. This prince, who ascended the throne in July, 1754, was a younger son of Jahándar Sháh, and was proclaimed by the title of Álamgir II, the first emperor, so called, having been the one we know as Aurungzeb. His brief reign was chiefly remarkable for the growing depravity and violence of the young captain-general, and the increasing confusion and misery which devastated the land. A great invasion of the Afghans was precipitated by the direct invocation of the emperor, desirous, at any cost, to free himself from the thraldom in which he was kept by his general. In 1758, the Afghans, under the famous Ahmad Khán, appeared before the gates of Delhi. The captain-general went out to meet the Afghans, but his lieutenant, a Rohilla Pathan, named Najib Khán (who was paymaster of the forces), deserted with the bulk of the army, and frustrated all resistance. The enemy occupied Delhi, and levied a con-

tribution of a million sterling from the wretched inhabitants.

After plundering the surrounding country, Ahmad Khán returned to Cabul, leaving Shahábuddin in possession of all power, civil as well as military. This ruffian now threw off all pretence of decency, and plundered the country like any common malefactor. The emperor's eldest son, Ali Gohar, cut his way out of the city, leaving his miserable father a helpless captive in the hands of the villainous minister. Joining a Mahratta force that was encamped in the neighbourhood, the prince began raising contributions on his own account, and finally went east and sought refuge in Bahár and Bengal. Ahmad, the Afghan leader, reappeared in the Punjab, and the emperor again opened a correspondence with him, having for its object the ruin of his insupportable jailor. The latter, on being informed of his victim's vain struggles, adopted the determination of ending them by violence, and the unhappy Álamgir was accordingly assassinated by the orders of Shahábuddin on 10th November, 1759. The circumstances will be found detailed in Keene's "Moghal Empire," p. 57.

Najib, the Pathan, again coalesced with his tribefellows from Cabul—and Shahábuddin was obliged to fly. Delhi was sacked once more, and a massacre took place which was only arrested by the barbarians being driven from the city by the effluvia from the decomposing corpses. Much of the city was burned down; famine completed the work of the sword, the people dying of starvation among the ruins of their houses!

Such was the state of the country and capital when the Mahrattas resolved to march on Hindustan

with all their power, and make a grand effort for the final and complete subversion of Mughal rule, and for a revival of Hindu sovereignty.

NOTE.—So much mention has been made in these pages of depositions and enthronements, that it may be of interest to give Dow's description of the ceremonies observed at the accession of a new emperor. It sounds strange to be told that the first preliminary of a Mughal coronation was that an umbrella was held over the head of the new monarch, until we recollect that in the east an umbrella (borne by a servant) is a sign of great wealth and dominion. The nobles being ranged in two rows, one on each hand, made a lane. In front, a herald proclaimed the names and titles of the prince. Then each lord, according to his rank, came forward and made his offering. The chief officer of the kitchen then brought in a golden salver, laden with confectionery, which being placed before the monarch was consecrated by him in a form of words, after which he ate a little, and distributed the rest among the grandees present. This is particularly noticed as a very ancient Mughal custom, preserved in the Taimuride family. The emperor mounted his state elephant, and proceeded with a long train of followers to the *Jama Musjid*, or cathedral-mosque, distributing as he passed among the spectators largesse of coin and jewels. After the emperor had said a prayer, the public liturgy was read by the primate, and the reading of the *Khutbah* or homily followed, containing proclamations of the genealogy, and prayers for the person of the sovereign. The procession then returned to the palace. No actual coronation took place, and the whole ceremony seems to have been a survival of the succession of a Tartar chief transfused with the seemly observances of religion.

NOTE ON NÁDIR SHÁH.—There is a rather rare book, "History of Nádir Sháh," by James Fraser, which was published during the Sháh's lifetime, and contains particulars of the Delhi massacre by the secretary of a Mughal noble—Sarbaland Khán—who was much employed in the matter of the indemnity; and the same work contains other particulars of the events of the period. No exact account of the fate of the peacock throne is forthcoming there or elsewhere. Modern travellers have seen at Tahrán, the present capital of Persia, what is said to be the identical article of furniture, in a despoiled condition. But Mr. Fraser's authority declares that it was "broken to pieces" by Abdulla the Sáyyid, before the battle that he fought with Mahomad Sháh on November 3rd, 1720. Fraser names no writer as his authority, but asserts generally that he took this part of his narrative from a MS. sent to Dr. Mead by a Mr. Humfries Cole, who was chief of the E.I. Company's factory at Patna. Fraser's book was published in 1742, and contains many particulars corroborative of Dow's description of the campaign of 1738. The dates (English) are ten days out, being given according to the old style, which was not superseded in England till nearly ten years after the book was published.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CAMPAIGN OF PÁNIPAT.

THE neighbourhood of Pánipat, a town about fifty miles north-west from Delhi, has been the scene of many decisive engagements at various periods. It was here that, according to traditions and poetic narrative, the Kauravas met the Pándavas in the dawn of Hindu history. Coming down to more authentic times: it was here that, in A.D. 1526, Bábar, at the head of twelve thousand *sans-culottes*, like himself, overthrew the magnificent but unwarlike array of Ibrahim Khán Lodi. Here, thirty years latter, the struggle made by the pugnacious chandler, Hemu, in behalf of the Sur dynasty, was frustrated by the youthful Akbar and his minister Bahrám. Not far off took place the insincere attempt of the Mughals of 1738 to check the incursion of the terrible Nadir Sháh.

Now, when the empire of the Chughtai dynasty had melted from sight, like a snowdrift in spring-time—when their city was desolate, and their heir a homeless exile—there was to be fought a new battle on the same plains, in which the issue to be determined

was not merely whether the empire was to pass from one dynasty to another, but whether the Hindus were to restore the sovereignty of the *Máha Bhárata*, or whether the peninsula was to fall into the power of some stronger race, who should by-and-bye include it in the cosmos of civilised life.

For the importance of what is known distinctively as the BATTLE OF PÁNIPAT is this. Had the Hindu league prospered, the last vestiges of what we call the empire of the Great Mughal must have utterly disappeared, and in that case there would have been no occupation by Sindhia, no interference of the French, and, consequently, no Lake campaigns or Wellesley annexation; the British would have held Bengal as they now hold Hongkong, and Hindustan would have been to them no more than what Cabul or Nepál is under existing conditions.

The Mahratta confederacy was in 1759 irresistible from the borders of Berár and Mysore to the banks of the Ganges. On one side they were checked by the Nizam and Haidar; on the other by Shujaá-ud-daula, the young ruler of Oudh. Between these limits they were practically paramount. To the westward a third Mohamadan power, the newly-formed Dauráni Empire,* was no doubt a standing menace; but it is very possible that with Ahmad Sháh, as with the other Moslem chiefs, arrangements of a pacific nature might have been made. All turned upon the character of one man; that man was Sadasheo Rao, the cousin and minister of the Mahratta leader, the Peshwa, into whose hands had fallen the sway of their vast power.

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* *Vide* Note at end of Chapter.

For their titular head, the descendant of Sivaji, the original founder, was a puppet, almost a prisoner, such as we, not many years ago, considered the Mikado of Japan.

The state of the country is thus described by a contemporary historian quoted by Tod :—

"The people of Hindustan, at this period, thought only of personal safety and gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centred solely in self, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public as of private virtue, became universal in Hindustan after the invasion of Nadir Sháh, nor have the people become more virtuous since, and, consequently, are neither more happy nor more independent."

Ahmad Khán, the Abdáli, whom we are now to recognize as Ahmad Sháh, the Daurâni emperor, returned to Hindustan late in the summer, and marched to Delhi, when he heard of the murder of Álamgir II.

The execrable Shahábuddin (or Ghazi-ud-din, the younger) fled at his approach, taking refuge with the Játs. Mahratta troops, who had occupied some places of strength in the Punjab, were defeated and driven in. The capital was again occupied and plundered. After which the Sháh returned to the territory of his ally, Najib,* and summoned to his standard the chiefs of the Rohillas. On the other hand, the Mahrattas, summoning to their side the chiefs of the Rajputs and Játs, moved up from the south. This was in September—December, 1759. The main force of the Mahrattas that left the Deccan, consisted of 20,000 chosen horse, under the immediate command of the

* *Vide* Note at end of Chapter.

minister, Sadasheo, whom for convenience we may in future call by his title of "the Bhao." He also took with him a powerful disciplined corps of 10,000 men, infantry and artillery, under a Mohamadan soldier of fortune, named Ibráhim Khán. This general had learned French discipline under the celebrated M. Bussy, and bore the title or nickname of "Gardi," a *souvenir* of his origin.

The Bhao's progress was joined by Mahratta forces under Holkar, Sindhia, the Gaikwar, Gobind Punt, Bundela, and others. Many of the Rajput states contributed, and Suraj Mal brought a contingent of 20,000 hardy Játs. Hinduism was uniting for a grand effort; Islam was rallied into cohesion by the necessity of resistance. Each party began earnestly longing for the alliance of the Shias under Shujaá of Oudh, whose antecedents led men on both sides to look upon them as neutral.

The Bhao had much prestige. Hitherto always victorious, his personal character inspired great respect. His camp, enriched with the plunder of Hindustan, was on a scale of unwonted splendour. "The lofty and spacious tents," says Grant Duff, "lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a distance . . . . vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses magnificently caparisoned . . . . seemed to be collected from every quarter . . . . it was in imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the Mughals in the zenith of their glory." Nor was this the only innovation. Hitherto the Mahrattas had been light horsemen, each man carrying his food, forage, bedding and heel-ropes, as part

of his accoutrements; marching fifty miles after a defeat, and then halting in complete readiness to "fight another day." Now, for the first time, they were to be supported by a regular park of artillery and a regular force of drilled infantry. But all these seeming advantages only precipitated and rendered more terrible their ultimate overthrow.

Holkar and Suraj Mal, true to the instincts of their old predatory experience, urged upon the Bhao that regular warfare was not the game that they knew. They counselled, therefore, that families and tents, and all heavy equipments should be left in some strong place of safety, such as the almost impregnable forts of Jhánsi and Gwalior, while their clouds of horse harassed the enemy and wasted the country before and around him. But the Bhao rejected these prudent counsels with contempt; he had seen the effect of discipline and guns in southern war; and, not without a shrewd foresight of what was afterwards to be accomplished by a man then in his train, resolved to try the effect of scientific soldiership as he understood it. The determination proved his ruin, not because the instrument he chose was not the best, but because it was not complete; and because he did not know how to handle it. When Máhdaji Sindhia, after a lapse of twenty years, mastered all Asiatic opposition by the employment of the same instrument, he had a European general, the Count de Boigne, who was one of the great captains of his age, and he allowed him to use his own strategy and tactics. Then the regular battalions and batteries, becoming the nucleus of the army, were moved with resolution and aggressive impulse, while the cavalry only acted for purposes of

escort, reconnaissance, and pursuit. In the fatal campaign before us we shall find the disciplined troops doing all that could fairly be expected of them under Asiatic leaders, but failing for want of numbers, and of generalship.

On arriving at Delhi the Bhao summoned the citadel, in which was situated the palace of the emperors. It was tenanted by a weak Mussalman force, which had been hastily thrown in under the command of a nephew of Sháh Wali Khán, the Dauráni vazir. After a brief bombardment this garrison capitulated, and the Bhao took possession and plundered the last remaining effects of the emperor, including the silver ceiling of the *Diwán Khás* which was thrown into the melting pot, and furnished seventeen lakhs of rupees (£170,000).

Ahmed, in the meantime, was cantoned at Anupshahr, on the frontier of the Rohilla country, where he was compelled to remain while his negotiations with Shujaá were pending. It was now the middle of 1760, and the rainy season was at hand, during which, in an unbridged country, military operations could not be carried on. All the more needful that the time of enforced leisure should be given to preparation. Najib, the head of the Rohillas, was very urgent with the Sháh that Shujaá should be persuaded to take part against the Mahrattas. He pointed out that, such as the Mughal Empire might be, Shujaá was its vazir. As Ahmad Sháh had hitherto been foiled by the late Nawáb, Safdar Jang, it was for his majesty to judge how useful might be the friendship of a potentate whose hostility had been so formidable. "But," added the prudent Rohilla, "it must be remembered

that the recollection of the past will make the Nawáb timorous and suspicious. The negotiation will be as delicate as important. It should not be entrusted to ordinary agency, or to the impersonal channel of written correspondence."

The Sháh approved of these reasonings, and it was resolved that Najib himself should visit the Nawáb-vazir and lay before his excellency the case which he (Najib) so well understood, and in which his own interest was so deep. The envoy found the vazir encamped upon the Ganges at Mehndeeghát, and lost no time in opening the matter. With the good sense that always characterised him, Najib touched at once the potent spring of self. Shia or Sunni, all Moslems were alike the object of Mahratta enmity. He, Najib, knew full well what to expect should the Hindu league prevail. But would the vazir fare better? "Though, after all, the will of God will be done, it behoves us not the less to help destiny to be beneficent by our own endeavours. Think carefully, consult the begam, your mother. I am not fond of trouble, and should not have come all this distance to see your excellency were I not deeply interested." Such, as we learn from an adherent of Shujaá's, was the substance of the advice given him by the Rohilla chieftain.

The nature of these negotiations is not left to conjecture. The narrative of what occurred is supplied by Kási Ráj Pandit, a Hindu writer in the service of the Nawáb-vazir, and an eye-witness of the whole campaign. He was present in both camps, having been employed in the negotiations which took place between the Mahrattas and the Mohamadans, and his account of the battle (of which a translation appeared

in the "Asiatic Researches" for 1791, reprinted in London, 1799) is the most authentic that has come down to our times.

Shujaá-ud-Daula, after anxious deliberation, resolved to adopt the advice of his Rohilla visitor; and having so resolved, he adhered manfully to his resolution. He sent his family to Lucknow, and returned with Najib to Anupshahr, where he was warmly received by the Dauráni Sháh, and his minister, Sháh Wali Khán.

Shortly after the united forces of the Moslems moved down to Shahdara, the hunting-ground of the emperors, near Delhi, from which, indeed, it was only separated by the river Jumna, but the monsoons having set in, the encounter of the hostile armies was, for the present, impossible. The interval was occupied in negotiation. The Bhao first attempted the virtue of Shujaá, whom he tempted with large offers to desert the Sunni cause. Shujaá amused him with messages in which our Pundit acted as go-between; but all was conducted with the knowledge of Najib, who was fully consulted by the Nawáb-vazir throughout. The Shah's minister, also, was aware of the transaction, and apparently disposed to grant terms to the Hindus. Advantage was taken of the opportunity, and of the old alliance between Shujaá and the Játs to shake the confidence of Suraj Mal, and persuade him to abandon the league, which he very willingly did when his advice was so haughtily rejected. It was the opinion of our Pandit that a partition of the country might even now have been effected had either party been earnest in desiring peace; he does not evidently know what were the Bhao's real feelings, but probably

judged him by the rest of his conduct, which was that of a bold ambitious statesman. From what he saw in the other camp he may well have concluded that Najib had some far-seeing scheme on foot which kept him from sincerely forwarding the proposed treaty. Certainly that astute Rohilla was ultimately the greatest gainer from the anxieties and sufferings of the campaign. But the first act of hostility came from the Bhao, who moved up stream to turn the invader's flank. About eighty miles north of Delhi, on the meadow-lands lying between the West Jumna Canal and the river—from whose right bank it is about two miles distant—stands the small town of Kunjpura. In the invasion of Nádir Sháh it had been occupied by a force of Persian sharpshooters, who had inflicted much loss on the Mughal army from its cover. Induced, perhaps, by the remembrance of those days, Ahmed had made the mistake of placing in it a garrison of his own people, from which he was now separated by the broad stream of the Jumna, brimming with the autumnal floods. Here the Bhao struck his first blow, taking the whole Afghan garrison prisoners after an obstinate defence, and giving up the place to plunder, while the main Afghan army sat idle on the other side.

At length arrived the Dasahra, the anniversary of the attack of Lanka by the demigod Ráma, a proverbial and almost sacred day of omen for the commencement of Hindu military expeditions. Ahmad adopted the auspices of his enemy, and reviewed his troops the day before the festival. The state of his forces is positively given by the Pundit as consisting of 28,000 Afghans, powerful men, clad in armour and

mounted on Turkman horses, forty pieces of cannon, besides light guns mounted on camels, with some 28,000 horse, 38,000 foot, and about forty guns under the Hindustáni Mussalmans. The Mahrattas had more cavalry, fewer foot, and an artillery of 200 guns; in addition to which they were aided—if aid it could be called in regular warfare—by clouds of predatory horsemen, making up their whole force to over 200,000, mostly, as it turned out, food for the sabre.

On the 17th of October, 1760, the Afghan host and its allies broke up from Shahdara, and between the 23rd and 25th effected a crossing at Baghpat, a small town about twenty-four miles up the river. The position of the hostile armies was thus reversed, that of the northern invaders being nearer Delhi,* with the whole of Hindustan at their backs, while the southern defenders of their country were in the attitude of men marching down from the north-west with nothing behind them but the dry and war-wasted plains of Surhind. In the afternoon of the 26th, Ahmad's advance guard reached Sambalka, about half-way between Sonpat and Pánipat, where they encountered the vanguard of the Mahrattas. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Afghans lost a thousand men, killed and wounded, but drove back the Mahrattas on their main body, which kept on retreating slowly for several days, contesting every inch of the ground until they reached Pánipat. Here the camp was finally pitched in and about the town, and the position at once covered by digging a trench sixty feet wide and

* In Keene's "Moghul Empire" it is erroneously stated that the Afghans encamped at Kurnál. The statement in the text being on the authority of an eye-witness, may be depended upon.

twelve deep, with a rampart on which the guns were mounted. The Sháh took up ground four miles to the south protecting his position by *abattis* of felled timber, according to his usual practice, but pitching in front a small unprotected tent from which to make his own observations.

The small reverse of the Mahrattas at Sambalka was soon followed by others, and hopes of a pacific solution became more and more faint. Gobind Punt, Bundela, foraging near Meerut with 10,000 light cavalry, was surprised and slain by Atái Khán, at the head of a similar party of Afghans. The terror caused by this affair paralysed the Khan's commissariat, while it greatly facilitated the foraging of the Sháh. Shortly after a party of 2000 Mahratta horsemen, each carrying a bag of specie from Delhi, fell upon the Afghan pickets, which they mistook for their own in the dark of night. On their answering in their own language to the sentry's challenge, they were surrounded and cut up by the enemy, and something like two hundred thousand pounds in silver was lost to the Bhao. Ibráhim and his disciplined mercenaries now became very clamorous for their arrears of pay, on which Holkar proposed that the cavalry should make an immediate attack without them. The Bhao ironically acquiesced, and turned the tables upon Holkar, who probably meant nothing less than to lead so hare-brained a movement.

During the next two months constant skirmishes and duels took place between parties and individual champions upon either side. In one of these Najib lost three thousand of his Rohillas, and was very near perishing himself, and the chiefs of the Indian

Mussalmans became at last very urgent with the Sháh to put an end to their suspense by bringing on a decisive action. But the Sháh, with the patience of a great leader, as steadily repressed their ardour, knowing very well that (to use the words of a Moslem on a similar occasion) the enemy were all the while "cooking in their own gravy." For this is one of the sure marks of a conqueror, that he makes of his own troubles a measure of his antagonist's misfortunes, so that they become to him a ground, not of losing heart, but of gaining courage.

Meanwhile the vigilance of his patrol—for which service he had five thousand of his best cavalry employed through the long winter nights—created almost a blockade of the Mahrattas. On one occasion twenty thousand of the camp followers, who had gone to collect provisions, were massacred in a wood near the camps by this vigilant force.

The Bhao's spirit sank under these repeated blows and warnings, and he sent to the Nawáb-vazir, Shujaá-ud-Daulah, to offer to accept any conditions that might still be obtainable. All the other chiefs were willing, and the Sháh referred them to the Rohillas. But Najib proved implacable. The Pundit went to the Rohilla leader, and urged on him every possible consideration that might persuade him to agree. But Najib's clear good sense perceived the nature of the crisis. "I would do much," he said, "to gratify the Nawáb and show my respect for his excellency. But oaths are not chains; they are only words—things that will never bind the enemy when once he has escaped from the dangers which compel him to undertake them. By one effort we can get this thorn out of our sides."

Proceeding to the Sháh's tent, he obtained instant admission, though it was now midnight. Here he repeated his arguments, adding that whatever his majesty's decision might be was personally immaterial to himself. "For I," he concluded, "am but a soldier of fortune, and can make terms for myself with either party."

The blunt counsel pleased the Sháh. "You are right, Najib," said Ahmad, "and the Nawáb is led by the impulses of youth. I disbelieve in Mahratta penitence, and am not going to throw over you, whom I have all along regarded as the manager of this affair. Though in my position I must hear every one, yet I promise never to act against your advice."

While these things were passing in the Moslem camp, the Mahrattas, having exhausted their last resource by the plunder of the town of Pánipat, sent all their chiefs on the same evening to meet in the great durbar tent. It was now the 6th of January, and we may fancy the shivering, starving southerners crouched on the ground and discussing their griefs by the wild torchlight. They represented that they had not tasted food for two days, and were ready to die fighting, but not to die of hunger. *Pán** was distributed, and all swore to go out an hour before daybreak and drive away the invaders, or perish in the attempt.

As a supreme effort, the Bhao, whose outward bearing at the durbar had been gallant and dignified,

* The pan, or pepper leaf, wrapped round an aromatic preparation of betel nut and shell lime, is a favourite condiment, and is bestowed by a great man on the breaking up of an assemblage. In the present case it had also a sacramental character.

now wrote a short note to our Pundit, who gives the exact text:—"The cup is full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it. If not, let me know plainly and at once, for afterwards there will be no time for writing or for speech." The Pundit was with Shujaá by the time this note arrived —the hour was three a.m.—and he handed it to his master, who began to examine the messenger. While he was so doing his spies ran in with the intelligence that the Mahrattas had left their lines. Shujaá at once hastened to the Sháh's tent.

Ahmad had lain down to rest, but his horse was held, ready-saddled, at the entry. He rose from his couch, and asked, "What news?" The Nawáb told what he had heard. The Sháh immediately mounted, and sent for the Pundit. While the latter was corroborating the tidings brought by his master, Ahmad, sitting on his horse, was smoking a Persian pipe and peering into the darkness. All at once the Mahratta cannon opened fire; on which the Sháh, handing his pipe to an orderly, said calmly to the Nawáb, "Your follower's news was very true, I see," then, summoning his prime minister, Sháh Wali, and Sháh Pasand, the chief of his staff, he made his dispositions for a general engagement when the light of day came.

Yes; the news was true. Soon after the despatch of the Bhao's note, the Mahratta troops broke their fast with the last remaining grain in camp, and prepared for a mortal combat, coming forth from their lines with turbans dishevelled, and turmeric-smeared faces, like devotees of death. They marched in an oblique line, with their left in front, preceded by their guns, small and great, the Bhao, with the Peshwa's

son and the household troops, was in the centre. The left wing consisted of the "Gardis" under Ibráhim Khán. Holkar and Sindhia were on the extreme right.

On the other side, the Afghans formed a somewhat similar line; their left being formed by Najib's Rohillas, and their right by the brigades of Persian troops. Their left centre was led by the two vazirs, Shujaá-ud-Daulah, and Sháh Wali; the right centre consisted of Rohillas under the well-known Hafiz Rahmat and other chiefs of the Indian Pathans. Day broke, but the Afghan artillery for the most part kept silence, while that of the enemy, losing range in its constant advance, threw away its ammunition over the heads of the enemy, and dropped its shot a mile to his rear. Sháh Pasand Khán covered the left wing with a choice body of mailed Afghan horsemen, and in this order the army moved forward, leaving the Sháh at his usual post, which was now in rear of the line, from whence he would watch and direct the battle.

No great precautions seem to have been taken in the Mahratta host, except indeed by the Gardis, and their vigilant leader, who advanced in silence and without firing a shot, with two battalions of infantry bent back to his left flank to cover his approach from the attack of the Persian cavalry forming the extreme right of the enemy's line. The valiant veteran soon showed the worth of French discipline, and another division such as his would have probably gained the day. Well mounted and armed, and carrying in his hand the colours of his own personal command, he led his men against the Rohilkhand columns with fixed bayonets, and to so much effect that nearly eight thousand were put *hors-de-combat*, and for three

hours the Gardis remained in unchallenged possession of that part of the field. Shujaá-ud-Daulah, with his small but compact force, remained stationary, neither fighting nor flying; and the Mahrattas forebore to attack them. The corps between this and the Pathans was that of the Daurâni vazir; and it suffered severely from the shock of an attack delivered upon them by the Bhao himself at the head of the household troops. The Pundit, being sent through the dust to inform Shujaá what was going on, found Sháh Wali vainly trying to rally the courage of his followers, of whom many were in full retreat. "Whither would you run, friends?" cried the vazir, "your country is far from here."

Meanwhile the prudent Najib had masked his advance by a series of breastworks, under cover of which he had gradually approached the hostile line. "I have the highest stake to-day," he said, "and cannot afford to make any mistakes." The part of the enemy's force immediately opposite to him was commanded by the then head of the Sindhia house, who was Najib's personal enemy. Till noon Najib remained on the defensive, keeping off all close attacks upon his earth works by continuous discharges of rockets. But so far the fortune of the day was evidently inclined towards the Mahrattas. The Mohamadan left still held their own under the two vazirs and Najib; but the centre was cut in two, and the right was almost destroyed.

Of the circumstances which turned the tide and gave the crisis to the Moslems, but one account necessarily exists. Hitherto we have had the guidance of Grant Duff for the Mahratta side of the affair; but now the whole movement was to be from the other side, and we cannot do better than trust the Pundit. Dow, the

only other contemporary author of importance, if we except Gholam Husain, who wrote at a very remote place, is most irremediably inaccurate and vague about all these transactions. The Pundit, then, informs us that during those earlier hours of the conflict, the Sháh had watched the fortunes of the battle from his tent, guarded by the still unbroken forces on his left. But now, hearing that his right was defeated, he felt that the moment was come for a final effort. In front of him the Hindu cries of "*Har! Har! Jai Mahadeo!*" were maintaining an equal and dreadful concert with those of "*Allah! Allah! Din! Din!*" from his own side. The battle wavered to and fro, like that of Flodden, as described by Scott. The Sháh saw the critical moment in the very act of passing. He, therefore, sent 500 of his own body-guard with orders to drive all able-bodied men out of camp, and push them to the front at any cost; 1500 more he sent to encounter those who were flying, and slay without pity any who would not return to the fight. These, with 4000 of his reserve troops went to support the broken ranks of the Rohilla Pathans on the right. The remainder of the reserve, 10,000 strong, was sent to the aid of Sháh Wáli, still labouring unequally against the Bhao, in the centre of the field. The Sháh's orders were clear. These mailed warriors were to charge with the vazir in close order, and at full gallop. As often as they charged the enemy in front, the chief of the staff, and Najib were directed to fall upon either flank. These orders were immediately carried out.

The forward movement of the Moslems began at one p.m. The fight was close and obstinate; men

fighting with swords, spears, axes, and even with daggers. Between two and three p.m. the Peshwa's son was wounded, and having fallen from his horse, was placed upon an elephant. The last thing seen of the Bhao was his dismounting from the elephant and getting on his Arab charger. Soon after the young chief was slain. The next moment, Holkar and the Gaikwár left the field. In that instant resistance ceased, and the Mahrattas all at once became helpless victims of butchery. Thousands were cut down; other thousands were drowned in escaping, or were slaughtered by the country people, whom they had so long pillaged. The Sháh, and his principal commanders, then retired to camp, leaving the pursuit to be completed by subordinate officers. Forty thousand prisoners are said to have been slain. Among the prisoners was Ibráhim, the valiant and skilful leader of the Gardis. Though severely wounded, he was taken care of in Shujaá's tents, and his wounds received surgical attention. Shujaá also endeavoured to extend protection to the head of the house of Sindhia. The afterwards celebrated Máhdaji, who was to become in his turn master of the whole country, fled from the field; and the late Colonel Skinner used to describe how this chief, in whose service he at one time was, would relate the mental agonies he endured on his light Deccanee mare, from the lobbing paces and roaring breath of a big northern horse, on which he was pursued for many miles by an Afghan, greedy of blood and booty.

Jankoiji, the then head of the family, was killed next day, a victim to the enmity of Najib, whose policy included relentlessness. Ibrahim Gardi was

taken from Shujaá by a mixture of force and fraud. He was put into the charge of the Afghan vazir, and died in that charge a week after. A headless body, supposed to be that of the Bhao, was found some twenty or thirty miles off; the body, with that of the Peshwa's son, received the usual honours of Hindu cremation, at the prayer of the Nawab Shujaá.

After these things, the allies moved to Delhi; but the Daurání troops became mutinous and quarrelsome, and they parted on ill terms. Shujaá marched back to Mehndi Ghat, whence he had come six months before; the Sháh, having written to the fugitive, Sháh Álam, to salute him as emperor, got what money he could out of the exhausted treasury, and departed to his own country. Najib Khán remained at Delhi, under the title of Najib-ud-Daula, with a son of the absent emperor, as ostensible regent. Such was the famous campaign of Pánipat, the first disaster, on a great scale, of the power of the Mahratta confederacy, and the besom which swept the land of Hindustan for the advent of the British.

NOTE.—It is a curious coincidence, and one which illustrates the similar character of war in West and East, that the critical action of Ahmad Sháh's troops at Pánipat should so closely resemble that by which the Duke of Marlborough had won the battle of Blenheim, more than half a century before—namely, breaking the hostile line of battle by a violent assault at the end of a long engagement with a reserve of heavy cavalry.

The fact is, no doubt, to be accounted for by the character of Ahmad, who was a self-made man, brought up in a good school. Hence he had learned to be prudent, without surrendering his native originality and the initiative spirit, which might otherwise have led only to eccentric conduct. It is extremely unlikely that he had ever heard so much as the name of the English general, but in like circumstances his genius had like inspiration. Therefore he made the right step at the right moment, and so gained his great success, unconsciously reproducing the strategy of another great leader.

An episode like this possesses value, as a study of human nature, even beyond what arises from its importance as a link in the chain of history.

The two most remarkable men in the above narrative are the Sháh himself and Najib Khán. The former was a native of Herat, his tribal surname being *Abdálli*, whence the Europeans of the last century sometimes mention him by the name, "Abdallah." He rose to distinction in the service of Nádir Sháh, and, according to a contemporary anecdote preserved in the "Asiatic Researches," was once under arrest in the same guard-room with Karim Khán, a brother officer, who afterwards succeeded to Nádir's throne. Ahmad Abdalli was not free from the vices of his profession, and his cruel spoliations of the citizens and villagers of Hindustan are a sad blot upon his character. But the narrative we have been studying accounts for his unvaried success; he was evidently possessed of that combination of patience, prudence, and resolution, which is as irresistible as it is rare. He was the founder of Afghanistan as an independent power, though his own dynasty fell in the third generation before the genius and popularity of a collateral, the late Dost Mohamad Khán.

Of Najib Khán (afterwards called Najib-ud-Daula), it should be noted that he, too, was a Pathan* soldier of fortune, who had chosen an Indian career. He married the daughter of Dundi Khán, the head of the Rohillas, and this alliance had procured him a territorial charge in the north-west corner of Rohilkhand. It is now the district of Bijnore, and its chief town Najibábád, still bears the founder's name. When Safdar Jang occupied Rohilkhand, he abandoned the cause of his friends and espoused that of the conqueror. When the latter broke down he joined the young Ghazi-ud-Din. By that minister he was put in charge of fifty-two parganahs† about Saharanpur, which long continued to form the fief of his family, and formed an almost independent principality. Though possessing much of the unscrupulous habits of a *condottiere*, Najib had also the virtues of his class. He was active, painstaking, and faithful to engagements. He ultimately ruled the empire for nine years, and handed it to his son in an improved and strengthened condition, and ready to be restored to its lawful monarch. He was reported on by the British Government of those days as "a great and good character." (Keene's "Fall of the Moghal Empire," page 94.)

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* Páthan is the generic name applied in India to Afghans and their descendants.

† Hundreds, or small fiscal unions of parishes.

APPENDIX A.

In comparing the passage from Nizám-ud-Din with that from De Lact, it seems *possible* that the latter relates to the accounts as found by Jahangir on his father's death (Thomas, "Chronicles," p. 440); that the three *arbs* forty-nine *krors* of *tankahs* means the same as the similar estimate (in *dams*) of the "Ain Akbari"; and that, taking Nizam to have meant half *that tankah* or *dam*, his estimate of six hundred and forty krors means sixteen krors of rupees. I say "possible"—but no more—and his sum *may* have risen to seventeen krors forty-five lakhs between the date of the "Tabákát" and Akbar's death, when Khándes had been thoroughly settled, and part of what was afterwards Aurungabad added to the empire. If we are at liberty to adopt Mr. Thomas' suggestion, and estimate the separate revenue at a corresponding sum, this would give us something close upon the £349,000,000 estimated by Mr. Thomas as the total revenue (from all sources) at Akbar's death. But this appears very doubtful. Hawkins' notion that Jahángir got fifty krors of rupees from the land alone may be at once set aside as a monstrous exaggeration. Mr. Thomas ("Revenue Resources," p. 23) thinks that Hawkins had means of knowing the truth, but admits in a foot-note that the estimate must have included customs, taxes, and all other miscellaneous receipts. But Hawkins declares that his estimate applies to the land alone—"the king's yearly income of his crowne-land"—which seems to dispose of his claim to be considered an authority. It is further to be remarked that Coryat, the eccentric but inquisitive vicar of Odcombe, who was in India at the same time, declared that the revenue (q.d. from land?) was only "forty millions of crowns of six shillings each" (£12,000,000), which tallies very fairly with the account in the "Ain." The author of the "Badshahnáma" in the next reign put the revenue of the whole empire at £22,000,000, giving details for each province of which that forms the total. He states that this was twenty years after

the emperor's accession, at which time the income was only £17,800,000. The latter estimate is confirmed by the entirely independent testimony of Ramusio. Valuable MS. records cited by Mr. Thomas ("Revenue Resources," pp. 33-35) give £24,056,114 as the net return in the early years of Aurungzeb (1654-5); the returns for later years come to over £34,000,000, which Manucci raises to £38,000,000, according to Mr. Thomas. But, as he says that the 38 krors were equal to 580,000,000 French livres, it is very likely that at that time the exchange was not at the original par of two shillings. Lastly, in Harris's "Voyages" is an estimate, which Mr. Thomas seems to value highly, from which it would appear that the total was £30,179,686 in the last years.

The following is the conspectus of these estimates (rejecting those of Hawkins and Carreri which are apparently extravagant). It is possible that the higher totals express the mixed totals or *whole* of the *fixed* revenues, whether from land or customs and poll-tax, though they can throw no light on what may be termed "accidental items," gifts, fines, escheats, and such like.

CONSPECTUS OF LAND REVENUE.

Akbar—about £10,000,000.
Jahángir—from £12,000,000 (Coryat) to £17,500,000.
Shahjáhán—about £22,000,000.
Aurungzeb—from £24,056,114 to £34,000,000, but declining in the last year or two to £30,179,686.

It must be confessed that the subject is obscure and the evidence conflicting. But, to those who are in favour of the higher estimates, it may be suggested that, in the first place, the "Ain" is not likely to have been far wrong, and that ten millions may very safely be taken as a starting-point for the income of the empire. If, in the height of Aurungzeb's power, and when he was wringing a new poll-tax from the bulk of the population, and was vigilantly administering nearly the whole of the Deccan, in addition to the heritage of his fathers, he more than tripled the revenue of 1596, he did as much as could be expected from the ablest financier. It will be seen that I do not believe the estimate of £80,000,000 which Mr. Thomas seems disposed to accept upon European testimony. European travellers in those days saw Eastern matters—especially the wealth of India—through convex glasses.

APPENDIX B.

Note on Manrique's Mission, and the Catholics in the time of Shahjáhán.

In A. D. 1653 was published at Rome a small quarto of 470 pages, containing the "Itinerary of Missions in the East Indies, made by P. Maestro Fra Sebastian Manrique, an Eremite monk of S. Augustine." The first 56 chapters describe the travels of the missionary in Burmah, Bengal, and Bahar; but in chapter 57 we find him going to Hindustan; and the next ten chapters are devoted to an account of the cities of Agra and Lahore, and of the court of "the Great Mogul." Then follows a journey to Multan, then one to Candahár, after which is a fresh description of the Mughal system, wealth, power, &c. Then comes a relation of the fall of Hughli, some years before, and of the imprisonment and sufferings of the Catholic priests of that place, especially of Prior Antonio de Cristo, whose liberation the author undertook with success. The remainder of the book shows how the enterprising father returned to Rome through Persia and the Levant.

He seems to have been a man of average observation, but much beset by a desire for distinction as a rhetorician, to which he occasionally sacrificed both accuracy and intelligibility. He also uses archaic words, and forms of spelling which sometimes interfere with the reader's ease, unless he be an unusually profound Spanish scholar. The following extracts may be found interesting. After mentioning his arrival at Agra (where the priests knew him "though in Mughal garb," and placed at his disposal a house formerly inhabited by the captive prior), he relates how, on the day after Christmas, he set out for Biána, passing through Fathipur-Sikri (already a ruin). Having transacted the business for which he went to Biána, he returned to Agra, where he visited the prior in prison, and cheered him with hopes of liberty which he afterwards fulfilled.

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The court was then at Lahore, whither it would be necessary to repair to make intercession for the prior. This was in 1640, and the poor man had been in prison for over eight years.

Before starting for Lahore, Manrique had time to look about him and examine the fort and other buildings of Agra. His account of the palace is not important; the buildings of those days have been much better described by Finch, whose account will be found in Purchas' "Pilgrims." The present *Diwán-i-Aám* had not been built, nor, in all probability, the *Amr Sinh* gate; for Amr Sinh's little tragedy did not occur till four years later.

The description of the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra is not very clear, and the account of the Taj is not much more graphic, though it contains certain details of considerable interest. It was still unfinished when he saw it (it was not finished for eight years more); all that he saw seems to have been "a beautiful, lofty, and squared wall (or rampart) of ruddy and famous masonry, and well-proportioned height." Four white marble palaces were in the corners, and a spacious garden within, together with a white circular tower of Archimedean geometry. One thousand workmen laboured there daily. "The architect was a Venetian named Geronimo Verroneo, who came to India with the ships of the Portuguese, and who died in the city of Lahore a little before my arrival. To him gave the Emperor Khurram great salaries, but he was supposed to have profited so little by them, that when he died F. Joseph de Castro* found them much less than he had expected. Of him a report was current that the *Pádsha*, having sent for him and, made known the desire he felt to build there [at Agra] a grandiose and sumptuous monument to his defunct consort, and to have him make and exhibit designs for it, the architect Verroneo obeyed, and in a few days produced various models of very fine architecture, showing all the skill of his art; also that, having contented his majesty in this, he dissatisfied him—according to his barbarous and arrogant pride—by the modesty of his estimates; further that, growing angry, he ordered him to spend three krors, and to let him know when they were spent—wonderful sum! But if these mortuary chambers had really covers of gold plates, as was the case with the urn containing the ashes of the empress, such an expense need cause no astonishment." The amount evidently surprised the friar, for he falls to

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* *Vide infra.*

calculation, and shows that we are dealing with one who "in no longer time than it takes to open and shut the mouth, could cause the expenditure of fifteen millions of Spanish dollars."

The best things in the book are the description of the celebration of the royal birthday, and of Asaf Khan's dinner, partly given in the text. There is also a curious account of the persecution of the Portuguese by Sháhjahán.

It appears from Manrique that the siege of Hughli very much resembled that of Cawnpore in our day—the place being entirely open and unwalled. The garrison, moreover, were enormously outnumbered. He says that they obstinately defended themselves behind earthern entrenchments for three months, during which the enemy lost many men, including two Umrahs, or commanders. It was at length resolved to apply for terms of surrender, and the Prior F. Antonio de Cristo was sent to the camp of the Subahdár with plenary powers. He was accompanied by a certain F. Francisco "de la Incarnacion," and two Portuguese captains. But when they saw in the enemy's proceedings that there was no hope of an honest negotiation, they returned to the city, resolved to sell their lives dear. They accordingly defended themselves for three months more, during which (always according to Manrique) they slew thirteen thousand of the enemy. At length the latter—who had been largely reinforced—delivered a general assault; the inhabitants placed the women and non-combatants in the principal church, and after a vigorous defence, surrendered on promise of life and liberty. The treaty was broken, and men, women, and children were sent to Agra. The journey occupied eleven months, during which the good prior did all in his power for his flock—giving his food to the poor, and his carriage to the weak, and begging for alms in the failure of his own resources. "With these labours and sufferings, or, to speak more correctly, spiritual triumphs, the servant of God came, with all his company, to the Agra court." So says the enthusiastic Manrique. The rest of the captives were divided amongst the princes and lords of that court, but the monarch reserved for himself the two Augustinians and two priests, of whom one was a Portuguese of Santarem, named Manuel Danhaya; the other a B ngáli of Serámpur, named Manuel Garcia; also some of the leaders, and the women, who were put into the imperial palace.

"Many times did Shahjáhán invite the monks and clergymen to become Mahomadans, but they repudiated his overtures with scorn,

and called on the emperor rather to turn from his own errors and conform to the Catholic faith. Long did they suffer ill-treatment and blows in the public prison. At last the emperor sent for them, and renewed his temptations in person, not only with threats, but with large offers of what he would do for them in return. 'Sovereign and powerful ruler, if to give you pleasure were not to offend the Supreme Ruler of the sky, believe me that without any special promises of favour we should be ready to follow your desire with much joy. But since we are bound to the Creator more than to the creature, and He who is not only Creator but Redeemer has charged us to keep His law, you will surely not take it ill that we do not embrace a faith which is in our eyes erroneous and opposed both to reason and understanding. Consider, therefore, Lord, to whom we owe obedience.' Sháhjahán was naturally offended at reasoning of this sort, and the end was that all four of these good Christians were ordered for execution the next day. They passed the night in prayer. Next day they were conducted in chains to an open market facing the Delhi gate of the fort—where the railway-station now is, and elephants were brought out to trample them to death like common malefactors.

"But Asaf Khan, moved by pity for their constancy in suffering, threw himself at the emperor's feet. Seeing the frame of mind of his sovereign and son-in-law, he applied rather to his sense of interest than to his compassion. He pointed out that the Portuguese, though ruined at Hughli, were still powerful on the opposite coast: and that the vengeance of the Viceroy of Goa would fall upon the ships and sea-going people, so that many of his majesty's subjects would suffer for each of these.

"Sháhjahán yielded; and the valiant soldiers of the cross, after being paraded ignominiously through the town, were re-conducted to prison. Garcia and Danhaya sank and died of fatigue next day, what became of F. Francisco is not stated. The prior lived nine years in confinement. During this period he managed to raise money by drawing bills on Goa, with which he provided funds for the departure of all his flock, so saving them from the mouth of the infernal wolf," says Manrique. F. F. Garcia and Danhaya were buried in the little mortuary chapel of the Agra Cemetery near the judge's court, called by natives "*Padre Santo.*" Their epitaphs are still to be read, and are as follow:—*Aqui cazo P. Mel. Danhaya, Clerigo morto pe la fé, cua prisão a 2 d'Agosto*, 1635. *Aqui cazo P.*

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Mel. Garcia, Clerigo morto no carcere, pe la fé, a 23 de Marco, 1634.

From these epitaphs we learn several facts connected with the persecution. First, the secular priests did not, as Manrique supposes, die "al segunda dia deste espectaculo." Next, that their sufferings spread over a long period—at least, from March, 1634, to August, 1635. Lastly, that the persecution was not so severe as to prevent the victims from receiving Christian burial. Moreover, the whole circumstances, ending with the visit of Manrique, the civility that he met with, and the prior's liberation at his request, all show that it was not so much as Christians, but as recalcitrant prisoners of war, that the fathers were ill-treated. By Mohamedan law they were liable to the alternative of circumcision or death.

There were three priests (Augustinians) and a part of the garrison who attempted to escape from Hughli by water. But their vessel grounded on a sandbank, where they were boarded and put to the sword. One priest escaped by favour of a wealthy Hindu, who hid him in his house and had his wounds treated.

All this time Christians were abundant in the imperial service, and Mandelslo in 1638 made a tour through the country. It was not, therefore, a religious persecution in the sense in which the Roman emperors would have understood the term. There are seven other tombstones in the same chapel dated in the reign of Sháhjahán, but no others of *morti pe la fé.*

Joseph de Castro, mentioned above as Verroni[illegible]xecutor, died at Agra in 1646. His tomb is among thos[illegible]'Padre Santo."

An interesting account of the "Padre Sant[illegible] contributed to the "Transactions" of the Arch[illegible] Agra by the Rev. Father Symphorien, secre[illegible] Jacopi, the Bishop of Agra.